

Anti Poverty Hearing – Part 2

April 10, 1967

MISSISSIPPI DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
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AU 1059 – SIDE 1

CLARK: Mrs. Hardy, you're a [inaudible]

???

CLARK: There's not even a Mr. Taylor on our panel. Well, anyway, we're happy to have you. Will you state your full name and where you come from?

HARDY: Mattie Mae Hardy, Buckatunna, Mississippi, Wayne County.

CLARK: Ok. Now, Mr. Moore, will you proceed?

MOORE: Mr. Chairman and other members of the committee, I'm Amzie Moore from Bolivar County up in the Mississippi Delta. I'm representing the [Delta] agency of the Bolivar County CAP Board. At the present time we have a poverty program, a single purpose program called Head Start, in which there are 1305 kids involved with about 400...350 people employed. We think that, beyond a reasonable doubt, the Head Start program has been a great asset to Bolivar County.

CLARK: Mr. Moore, what percentage of those children are Negro and what percentage are White?

MOORE: About 99 per cent of them are Negroes. Now, I may say that we would certainly enjoy having some of our White poor work with us. We've got 1,400 families in Bolivar County who are poor Whites who earn less than 3,000 dollars a year. But, for some cause, they have not yet decided that they are poor enough. Anyway, going back to the program, I think that it has done several things for us. First, it has promoted community organization and community responsibility. People have organized themselves and set up their own centers and they run them, their centers. Even though they didn't know, they have learned through doing, and I think this is a great asset to us. Now, there are about 2,800 kids, of course, the CAP board has a program of about 1550 kids, making a total of about 2,800 kids in that county that now are under the...that have the training program. Kids who didn't have milk and couldn't get food have been greatly helped by the poverty program. The only thing we need, I think, is more money to involve all of the kids between the ages of five, I mean three and five.

CLARK: Mr. Moore, is that the Head Start program in your county operated by MAP or by CDGM or by both?

MOORE: No, my...the Head Start in my county is under the supervision of the CAP board and we, the Associated Communities of Bolivar County, is the [delegation].

CLARK: So your not involved in either CDGM or MAP?

MOORE: No, I'm not.

CLARK: Thank you, sir. Go ahead.

MOORE: I really think that we could use more money, because we don't like the idea of discriminating against people and we do have more people there that really could be put into the poverty program.

CLARK: You think you've got a real good program, and you need more money.

MOORE: That's exactly it.

CLARK: Thank you very much, sir. Now, Mrs. Hamer, will you [take on] next?

HAMER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and [inaudible] the other senators of the committee. I'm Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, and I exist at 626 East Lafayette Street, Sunflower County, one of the world's poorest counties. To talk about the poverty program in Sunflower County, the poverty program is being conducted now through the CAP board. We have heard from the regional office of OEO in Atlanta. We have had people from Washington OEO that said that the CAP board in Sunflower County was one of the worst CAP boards in the country, but they still have been able to get funds. The Associated Communities of Sunflower County consist of over 2000 people, and we have 1000 kids that's going to school every day, and we haven't been able to get a dime.

[Break in tape]

HAMER: ...not actually integrated. They do have one or two White kids dotted about in [different places]. We are asking for, and we do have one family of four [Whites] that's working with the Associated Communities of Sunflower County.

CLARK: Now, you're operating...you, yourself, are identified with the Head Start program, are you not?

HAMER: That's right, but we haven't been able to get one measly dime other than donations and from different foundations...we've had some donations to keep us going.

CLARK: Well, now, was the CDGC in there for a while?

HAMER: Well, CDGM...

CLARK: CDGM.

HAMER: CDGM really started the show for not only us, but for CAP, because I think that the CAP taking the proposals of the CDGM and really learn how to operate which, if we had the same chance, we could operate our program the same way.

CLARK: Now, CDGM is not in there anymore?

HAMER: They are not in there anymore.

CLARK: Why not?

HAMER: Well, I don't know the reason, but CDGM is not in Sunflower County, and we want to have a chance, if we are the poverty-stricken people in Sunflower County, to operate our program, because I'm not convinced at this time that the landowners that's on the board, the people have caused us to be in poverty, is going to get us out of it.

CLARK: Now, Mrs. Hamer, is Sunflower County a plantation economy?

HAMER: It's plantations, and people are [hungry this evening], because the only way after the minimum wage [inaudible] then, Senator Clark, we really are having it in Sunflower County. And not only that. When they said they are going to replace the commodities, the surplus food, with stamps, then somebody's going to starve. There's a lot of people in Sunflower County have suffered from malnutrition.

CLARK: What do you know about the Nelson Project in Sunflower County?

HAMER: Well, it was one of the saddest amendments that I ever heard of. We're supposed to have trained [inaudible]. Now, I've never heard in my life of a little town as big as Ruleville, no bigger than Ruleville, four miles on the plantations and in the cemeteries cutting trees and stumps and ditches, what the men have been doing the last 300 years. And that is what the Nelson Amendment has done. In fact, it got the people who was already getting different types of checks from the welfare and all of these things.

CLARK: And what did they get them to do?

HAMER: Well, they was cutting trees. They were sawing down trees.

CLARK: Where?

HAMER: They had shovels.

CLARK: Where were they doing this work? On what real estate?

HAMER: On what real estate?

CLARK: Yeah.

HAMER: Well, I know it was out in the rural areas.

CLARK: Not in the town?

HAMER: Well, they did come back to town finally after they had, I guess, a little two dollars left to dump a few bricks in some of the slums that were there.

CLARK: Thank you very much, Mrs. Hamer. Now we'll hear from the Reverend J. E. Killingsworth.

KILLINGSWORTH: Mr. Chairman and [inaudible], I'd like to give a few facts about the program that exists in Clark County.

CLARK: Reverend, will you pull that microphone in front of you so in order to hear you a little better?

KILLINGSWORTH: [inaudible] about December 28, 1966 [inaudible], I [declared] that CDGM will not be allowed to operate [inaudible]. These counties are Clark, Wayne, Neshoba, Humphries and Leflore. I know Greene was one who wanted to become a member of our family, and we [accepted them, of course] has also been included. On January 18, 1967, representatives coming from all of these six counties met in Jackson to discuss the response to OEO. Now, the representatives [inaudible]

[Break in tape]

KILLINGSWORTH: ... [independent program that you see]. The [inaudible] children of Mississippi. Their desire and purpose is to continue to struggle against great odds [inaudible] program that allows for the maximum development of a child, his teacher and parent. The development must be centered on the poor.

CLARK: Now, Reverend Killingsworth, let me interrupt you for a moment. You said a moment ago it's independently organized. You mean by that that it had no connection with any government...local government agency? Is that what you mean?

KILLINGSWORTH: No, I mean that it's the type of program the local people can have a voice in

the operation of.

CLARK: I see. Well, have you got that now?

KILLINGSWORTH: Yes.

CLARK: And does that include Head Start?

KILLINGSWORTH: Yes.

CLARK: And who's running...

KILLINGSWORTH: [That includes] Head Start.

CLARK: And who's running your Head Start?

KILLINGSWORTH: It's run under the name [Friends of Children]. It has its own board.

CLARK: Is that either MAP or CDGM?

KILLINGSWORTH: It is not either.

CLARK: Neither one? How many children have you got in your Head Start program?

KILLINGSWORTH: I'm speaking for six counties.

CLARK: That's right.

KILLINGSWORTH: There are about 2,000 children.

CLARK: Are they mostly Negro?

KILLINGSWORTH: [inaudible] Negro as far as I know.

CLARK: Almost all.

KILLINGSWORTH: Yes.

CLARK: Thank you. Will you finish just now? We'll give you another minute.

KILLINGSWORTH: Alright. We must have 1,963 children. We must have 28 [centers]. We must have 132 [inaudible]. We must have 435 employees working with these persons, and these persons [who] are working with them; they're working under [inaudible].

CLARK: Now, where are you getting your money from?

KILLINGSWORTH: The foundation [inaudible]

CLARK: Can you name the foundation?

KILLINGSWORTH: [inaudible]

CLARK: That's an out of state foundation.

KILLINGSWORTH: Yes.

CLARK: Is it not?

KILLINGSWORTH: [No state funds]. 422 are [local center] staff. 13 working in the county level, and several work in the [center] office. For the past several months, [inaudible] these [centers] have worked on a voluntary basis. [inaudible] residents have contributed homemade toys, homemade dolls and toys and things of that [inaudible]. At the same time, OEO picked up all the toys and different types of things that it has provided us with [inaudible] at the closing of the [inaudible].

CLARK: Now, your experience, Reverend Killingsworth, is almost entirely with Head Start?

KILLINGSWORTH: Yes.

CLARK: As far as the poverty program is concerned. You think you've got a pretty good program going?

KILLINGSWORTH: A pretty good program.

CLARK: But your not getting any...are you getting any help from OEO?

KILLINGSWORTH: No help from OEO.

CLARK: And no help from CAP?

KILLINGSWORTH: No help from CAP.

CLARK: Therefore, no help...no help from any agency in the state of Mississippi?

KILLINGSWORTH: No help from MAP. [inaudible] may I say, sir. But it seems to [ignore] these poor people.

CLARK: Thank you very much.

KILLINGSWORTH: When the representatives come in, they go to the county officials and to the schools and things like that and bypass the poor people.

CLARK: Now, am I cutting you off too quick? Have you said pretty much...?

KILLINGSWORTH: [inaudible]

CLARK: Thank you very much. We'll now hear from Mrs. Unita Blackwell.

BLACKWELL: Thank you.

CLARK: Get yourself a microphone [inaudible].

BLACKWELL: Thank you, chairman and all the senators. It is a great pleasure...

CLARK: Speak up a little bit, will you?

KENNEDY: Maybe move that other microphone. Maybe that's...move both of them. Use both of them.

CLARK: That other big one on your right there. That's the one.

BLACKWELL: Thank you, chairman, and to the senators. I'm pleased to be here today to have my say in what I feel the people in the community where I come from want it said. Because I'm from Issaquena County from the ruralest of the ruralest. It's a rural area. In my county, it's a small county, we don't have a hospital. We don't have no health services.

CLARK: How far away is the nearest hospital to your county line?

BLACKWELL: They got one [they call it] [inaudible] in Issaquena County. That's about 14 miles for some people. 35 miles for some of the rest of the folks in the county. Maybe 20 miles for some of the rest of the people in, you know, it's still in my county, but, as you go to it. Some people are closer to it than others.

CLARK: Now, is that a segregated hospital or an integrated hospital?

BLACKWELL: It is segregated.

CLARK: So the Negro people are not admitted to it?

BLACKWELL: They are admitted, but they have their own special little room that they're...they have four rooms especially for Negroes. That's the way it works.

CLARK: Now, your experience, as I understand it, has been largely with one of the Head Start programs. Is that right?

BLACKWELL: Well, that's right.

CLARK: So, tell us a little bit about that, will you?

BLACKWELL: Well, I'd like to start by...just a little while, you know, just back to where [the start come from]. In 1964, the people of Issaquena County hadn't heard about, you know, anything except on radios and heard [inaudible] that somebody that was coming down and people was coming. That was the start of the movement in the county. People started to get ready [inaudible] to sign up to try to get ready, because they didn't get ready [inaudible]. But that started the whole thing. Afterwards, in '65, [inaudible] talking about a Head Start program. And the program...we worked on the program. Different peoples in the community worked on the program to try to get the program started. We got it worked up, and it started in December of '65.

CLARK: Was that under...under

BLACKWELL: Under CDGM.

CLARK: CDGM.

BLACKWELL: That is the first time we...that's the reason, I suppose, that we love it so well, because it's the only program that's ever reached down to where the poverty, poverty, poverty-stricken folks is. Now, in our county, we had communities of elected from the poor, because our county is poor. The whole county is poor. We got five or six people in the county which is the officials, and some plantation owners that is the rich folks. Now, the rest of us is poor. We don't have a factory. We don't have anything except plantations.

CLARK: What kind of [inaudible] do they use? What's the product of the plantation?

BLACKWELL: Cotton, soybeans and, now, you know, they coming up with wheat. And this is what's happening now that mechanization has took over. The people don't have anything to do. Back in '65 and '66 and on, people learned that, coming off of plantations, that they could make some decisions. They had...they brought [dignity] into people. They also [argued] like they do in Washington. On committees and these types of things, they learned that they could [argue] with one another and try to reason and find out, but they could make some decisions for themselves. They didn't have nothing, but[inaudible] what this program is [inaudible]. We had children who had never had a glass of milk. We had children who had never saw a toy that come into the program. The building of CDGM in our county...when you

say CDGM, your talking about the local people. [We was] talking about the people in the communities that that's what they thought CDGM was. But when you get, you know, when it hits the papers here lately and everything else, it looks like it's something way up on the top somewhere. But that is not true. I'd also like to say if we had to wait on our officials to bring in programs, we would still be in bad, bad shape in the state of Mississippi. Now, the people in Issaquena County have [sons] that they are trying to scuffle and feed, and, when they grow up and get 18 years old, they still have...they...they... some of them is illegitimate as you call it, because they have a lot of mothers who don't have, you know, they're not married to the daddies and all this. But when they're not illegitimate when it comes time for them to go to war. This is one of the things that is stirring up all over the South and all in the Delta. Peoples are very angry, because they can't eat. It's just that crucial. We don't have food stamps at the present time, because 267 people who are registered to vote signed a petition that they didn't want the food stamps and it carried, because this year is an election year. These are the kinds of things that people found out that they could do something about their own lives. Maybe they would call it civil rights, but it wasn't civil rights, it was just to eat. That was what they had the strength through their right to vote.

CLARK: Thank you very much, Mrs. Blackwell. [inaudible] I'll give you a chance to ask a [inaudible] question in just a minute.

MURPHY: Would you say that there is an emergency food situation?

BLACKWELL: It is an emergency. I not only work in Issaquena County. I work for Sharkey County. It's a plantation county. We now...it's...it's just crucial. In Washington County they have food stamps. I've been up there looking around and just see people in line and they're standing in line. There was a woman standing there with a 62 dollar check...66 dollar check. Eight children and she's got to buy 82 dollars worth of food stamps. Her rent is 25 dollars. Her light bill...

MURPHY: I've got the picture. I've got the picture. Thank you.

CLARK: Now, you've been very good back there in the audience. I want to compliment you on being so good. I know how much you're involved emotionally in this. We just cannot run this thing as though it was a circus. We've got a serious problem here, and I think I know how many of you feel, but please restrain your enthusiasm or whatever else emotion you may be feeling so we can get ahead with this very important hearing. Our next witness is Mrs. Ira Elmore of Jackson, Mississippi. Mrs. Elmore.

ELMORE: [inaudible] I'd like to speak about the jobs for the poor white people same as the...

CLARK: Mrs. Elmore, I'm awfully sorry. We can't hear you very well. Maybe you'll have to speak a little more closely to that microphone.

ELMORE: Now?

CLARK: That's better.

ELMORE: I can speak for the poor White people the same as the co...for the Colored people. We have poor White people. [inaudible] they don't have...make under 3,000 dollars a year. There's some that don't even get up about 60 dollars a month. And when they have a family they don't...you can't hardly make it go with 60 dollars a month. And I think the ones that have this family would need a better education and job training so we could all...so we could make a better living for ourselves and our children.

CLARK: Now, can you tell us your own experience with any aspect of this poverty program? What brings you here today?

ELMORE: Well, I went to STAR. STAR school and that's all I've done in this. And I'm hoping to start...when the work starts back, I'm hoping to go in and help the people and get help for myself.

CLARK: Have you yourself been in the STAR program?

ELMORE: Yes, sir. I went three months in STAR.

CLARK: How long did you stay in it?

ELMORE: Three months.

CLARK: And what did you learn while you were there?

ELMORE: Well, we learned some first to sixth grade. We learned what poverty means and why people...and we learned...in six months you don't learn too much from...

CLARK: How far did you go in school, Mrs. Elmore?

ELMORE: Eighth.

CLARK: Eighth grade.

ELMORE: Um, hum.

CLARK: And, then, how long were you out of school before you went into the STAR program?

ELMORE: 27 years.

CLARK: And you have a family?

ELMORE: Yes, I have a little daughter.

CLARK: And what are you doing now for a living?

ELMORE: At the moment, not anything.

CLARK: Are you...is your husband still alive?

ELMORE: Yes, sir.

CLARK: Does he work?

ELMORE: He's not with us. He sends us 60 dollars a month.

CLARK: He's separated from you. Now, I don't want to cut you short. Will you tell us anything else you'd like or think the committee ought to know?

ELMORE: Not but one thing. I would like...if there's anyway the people could get help that we could get it 'cause we need it. And all the others from other counties and states do, too.

CLARK: Are you presently on relief?

ELMORE: No, sir. I'm not on relief.

CLARK: What other form of support do you have except the 60 dollars?

ELMORE: That's all.

CLARK: What?

ELMORE: 60 dollars is all.

CLARK: That's all you've got?

ELMORE: Yes, sir.

CLARK: How old is your child?

ELMORE: She's 12.

CLARK: Is she in school?

ELMORE: Yes, sir.

CLARK: Do you care to tell us anything else? I'm very much impressed by what you've said.

ELMORE: Well...

CLARK: Why don't you let it go, and maybe later some thought will come to you, and we'll give you a chance to talk a little bit more? Thank you very much. Mr. Turner, I believe you're next.

TURNER: Mr. Chairman, Honorable Senators...

CLARK: Get yourself a microphone.

TURNER: Mr. Chairman.

CLARK: That's good.

TURNER: Honorable Senators, I'm here to speak about the Head Start program. We're very concerned about those programs. I'm from Wayne County, and we have six counties that join together in this...in these programs. We was excluded from the CDGM program for some reason or another, and we don't know why, but we was.

CLARK: Did you start off with CDGM? Did CDGM start your program for you?

TURNER: That's right, sir.

CLARK: And then they lost the grant and you...

TURNER: That's right. [inaudible] loose the grant and, then, something happened, and we were lost, too.

CLARK: No other group came in?

TURNER: The MAP program.

CLARK: MAP program. How's MAP doing?

TURNER: Well, MAP's not doing...the people are not satisfied with the MAP

program. They want a program of a type CDGM program. It doesn't have to be CDGM, but an independent program where they'll have voice to guide the program. We find most of the poor people...the CDGM program built something up within them. It give them that desire to them. There's a lot of people that hadn't had a chance to...to even elect a deacon in a church or nothing else and to elect a committee or a chairman or something, it made them feel good, and they had somewhere to go and something to live for. And that's the program they want, and that's the reason they rejected the MAP program that had been going ever since December in these six counties with close to 2,000 children in them. And they have transported those children and bought food for those children. I'm talking about the community have done that and that shows that they're interested in...

CLARK: Now, what's...what's wrong with the MAP program?

TURNER: Well, it doesn't give them exercise in what they want. It's not what they want.

CLARK: [inaudible]

TURNER: [inaudible] They feel like it's not the program for them, sir, because think they already got that program and been had it for the last 50 to 100 years. Now that's the [inaudible] to me, because when you come to the public school system, they believe you got that program. When it comes to poor, you can go to your public school systems, and the children that's out of the poverty bracket, for some reason, they resent that teacher that come in with the B. S. or Master's degree, well, they feel like he's over them for some reason. That's the resentment that happens. But, when you've got this poverty-stricken person in the community dealing with the people and going along with the children out of that community, you's able to build a better community. I don't see the people in my county, Wayne County, don't see where you can help a child...put him in all this fine [marble] and stuff in school. Now we have some beautiful structures there in Wayne County. But, now, to put that child in there and let him come back home and go back to a broke down house, he resents that. But now, they're working together, the poor people working together, the children, they gets along better. There's some of the problem that they don't like about MAP, because they already had a program and MAP has got the...where you have the qualifications. It bugs these people. They can't reach up there. That's putting the hay too high for them. They can't reach it. And they already have the program, and that's the main objections they got against the program.

CLARK: Thank you very much, Mr. Turner. Now, I'm going to ask Mrs. Hardy, who,

I understand, does represent MAP, to tell us your side of the story.

HARDY: [inaudible]

CLARK: I'm sorry, we can't hear you. Will you speak up a little louder and come a little closer to the microphone?

HARDY: [inaudible]

KENNEDY: Can we get a [inaudible] to help? Why don't we get...can we get a [inaudible] to help?

CLARK: Maybe you haven't got the right microphone. Mrs. Hamer...Mrs. Blackwell, why don't you give her your microphone?

HARDY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and senators. I am [inaudible]

CLARK: Maybe we can move the mic [inaudible] That'll work better, I think.

HARDY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and senators. I am from Wayne County, and I would like to say that I'm new in the program. I took this training in Jackson three months ago, and we were trained and taught that...well, the purpose of this program was for the welfare of the child regardless to race, creed or color. In Wayne County, three centers have been opened – all colored in all colored areas. One in a Negro school in [inaudible]. And we had to...

HARDY: ...and we had to close because of friction there.

CLARK: Friction between whom?

HARDY: The Whites and the [heading] from this is Washington. And I would like to pass this around for all of you to read.

CLARK: Just read us the headlines then hand it up here and we'll...Just read the headlines.

HARDY: Margaret now target [inaudible]. This is all ballooned out of proportion. It is not true.

CLARK: We'll ask that that clipping be printed in the record at this point. Go ahead, please.

HARDY: Thank you. All right, that center was closed due to this friction. Then they opened the center in Buckatunna, Mississippi, in a Colored home in a Colored area, and, all this time, not one White child had been admitted, and I...

CLARK: You said White children...you said White children would have been willing to go?

HARDY: Absolutely. I surveyed two and a half months in the White area and the parents were willing.

CLARK: Could you tell us a little bit about your own background, Mrs. Hardy? You said you studied... Go ahead.

HARDY: Yes, sir. I have...I was born and reared in Wayne County in Chicora, and now I live in Buckatunna just three miles from there. I have three children. My oldest son is a Captain in the Army. My daughter is a registered nurse, and she had over half of her training for anesthesia at the University of Alabama Medical Center. My youngest son is in the Army. He's set for North Carolina, Fort Bragg.

CLARK: Is your husband still alive?

HARDY: Yes, in bad health for the last 10 years.

CLARK: In what?

HARDY: In bad health for the last 10 years.

CLARK: So how have you been able to support yourself and your husband?

HARDY: Well, I have worked...I worked some at the...first, we had our own business. We had a little country store, and, after he was unable to work and help, then we just couldn't go on with it. And he has his shop, and he goes there and, anyway, he won't give up. But he can't do very much.

CLARK: How far did you go in school, Mrs. Hardy?

HARDY: 12th. Through...through ...through...

CLARK: Twelfth grade? You're a high school graduate?

HARDY: Yes, uh huh.

CLARK: Now go ahead.

HARDY: And my oldest son has served in Vietnam. He's back in the States. Is that what you wanted about my...

CLARK: Yes, that's plenty of facts. I think, Mrs. Hardy, what we'd like you to tell us,

if you can, is to what extent you disagree with Mr. Turner about the situation in Wayne County and why.

HARDY: Well, as I told you before, we were told that the program was for the purpose of helping the child regardless to race, creed or color. Well, not but one child has been admitted to a [inaudible] and that was this past Tuesday. Just four days. One White child. And not any teachers up until Tuesday of this week. One White teacher. It's all Colored. All Colored workers. All Colored children. And we don't have anything. The Health Department said no recruitment committee had contacted the Welfare Committee for names of the needy children. The Personnel Committee said they had not been contacted for workers. So...

CLARK: You just have to wait a minute and [inaudible] it'll go away. There. It's gone
away now. Now, start again.

HARDY: So...

CLARK: You're doing fine. Don't you get worried, now. You're doing fine.

HARDY: The Whites are left out, and we don't understand it. If it was for both, then why?

CLARK: Let me ask you. Do you have a MAP Head Start program in Wayne County?

HARDY: Yes.

CLARK: And how many children are there there?

HARDY: I was told this past week that they had 15 children in Buckatunna Center with [inaudible] teacher training.

CLARK: Do you happen to know whether all those children are all Negro or all White or...

HARDY: They are all Negro.

CLARK: Yeah.

HARDY: And we were...one lady's house had been shot into in Waynesboro that, one

White lady, that worked with the MAP program. And we were told...and another man went at 11 o'clock one night and threatened one of the other workers. There were only four of us left. And she went to Laurel to see the regional supervisor, and he advised her to quit and helped her write her resignation. He told her to come back and to tell all the White ladies to resign. That it was too dangerous for us to work.

CLARK: Now, will you tell us, Mrs. Hardy, just what you were doing in this Head Start program?

KENNEDY: May I just add...

CLARK: [inaudible] Let her answer the question first.

HARDY: I was trained for resource teacher, but I just surveyed. I lived in my car surveying the children. We did not have a center. We went out and told the children and the parents about the program, the most beautiful program that I ever heard of for children that age. But we never could back it up. There was nothing we could do for them.

CLARK: Thank you very much, Mrs. Hardy. Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: On the threat, so we get the record straight or straightened out, why were the threats made?

HARDY: Because we were working in the program.

KENNEDY: And were they threats by Whites or by Negroes?

HARDY: Whites.

KENNEDY: Were the threats because the Whites and Negroes cooperating with one another?

HARDY: I would assume that.

KENNEDY: What is your disagreement then with this article which [inaudible] I guess, the point of your...

HARDY: I was at the center [inaudible] this incident happened. And it says the knife was drawn. There wasn't any knife.

KENNEDY: Were there threats?

HARDY: I didn't hear any threats.

KENNEDY: Well, do you gather that there are some in the White population who are concerned about the Whites and Negroes cooperating in Wayne County? Do you gather that there is some concern amongst some Whites [inaudible] have identified them as members of the Klan?

HARDY: Well, yes. I would by this lady's house being shot into. I wish that you could have seen it.

KENNEDY: Let me just, if I may, ask Mrs. Blackwell. Could we go back to [inaudible]

HARDY: I would like to say one other thing if I might.

CLARK: Yes, please do.

HARDY: Jones County is our county joining Wayne County. We have had our two top jobs to come out of Wayne County, I mean Jones County, and we wonder why Wayne County can't have their own people in these top jobs. They were not advertised, and we feel like that is one reason the program can't get off its feet. There's something wrong in Wayne County. I don't know what it is. But I feel like we could do better if Wayne County could run their own

KENNEDY: Well, I gather just from your testimony that there's some opposition in Wayne County to Whites and Negroes operating together and that the White children, some of the White children, the parents of the White children have been warned against cooperating in this program. Isn't that what you've said?

HARDY: I don't know about the White children.

KENNEDY: Well, the White teachers.

HARDY: I know the White teachers...

KENNEDY: And the fact is you've only...

HARDY: They were sent word by the supervisor to resign, because it was too dangerous for us to work.

KENNEDY: Well, I would think that that would point out that there is some concern amongst...

HARDY: But we didn't want to resign, and we want to know what to do.

- KENNEDY: Well...ok. Mrs. Blackwell, could I ask you in connection with the unemployment that you talked about. What is...is there...is there a high percentage of unemployment amongst your people in your county?
- BLACKWELL: Yes, Senator Kennedy. It's no employment, you might say, if you're talking about money. Folks work. They work for 15 dollars a week, and they may have six children to feed. That's...maybe we're not talking about we said unemployed, but underemployment. Folks is working some on the plantations driving tractors and these kinds of things, but they don't make enough money to, you know, do anything for their family. Now that's a small percentage.
- KENNEDY: Is there hunger in the area that you're talking about?
- BLACKWELL: Hunger? It's not only my county, but all the counties in the surrounding area 'cause I've been to them all.
- KENNEDY: Now, what does...how mu...what does that consist of, the hunger?
Would you describe it?
- BLACKWELL: It consists of not having money to buy food. It, also, we've been getting commodities, and people are just living off of commodities. The meal and the flour and, you know, the canned meat and stuff. That's the only thing that's keeping some of the families living.
- CLARK: Is that what you call help? H-E-L-P.
- BLACKWELL: That's right.
- KENNEDY: And they all obtain that? All of the people obtain that?
- BLACKWELL: In my county, they do [inaudible]. Because we had to get out and get petitions signed to keep out the food stamps. And, in other counties that I know about, the county next to me, the people over there, Sharkey County, is in the same predicament.
- KENNEDY: If you have the food stamp program, you do not get the commodities. Is that correct?
- BLACKWELL: They don't get the commodities.
- KENNEDY: And what happens to those people who don't have the commodities?
- BLACKWELL: They starve.

KENNEDY: And is there...is there some of that taking place now in those [inaudible]?

BLACKWELL: Well, you may call...see, some folks say as long as you eating a piece of bread and drinking some water, you making it. Some of that is going on in both counties that I know about and more than that. I'm talking about these counties I goes in and out of every day and that's Issaquena and Sharkey County. We have some people, White and Negro, that's now willing to work on adult literacy program. I'd just like to get to that, because, when we're talking about poverty programs, we're not just talking about Head Start. We need more than just Head Start. We need some of everything in the state of Mississippi. Mississippi needs to go to school. Now, we have the adult literacy program, and we have some Whites that the Board of Supervisors first starting off going to get the people to start up a CAP program. They got the plantation owners, the same men that threw off people off the place, because that they wanted to register to vote or they would send their childrens to the integrated schools and these kinds of things. These are the same people that were going to try to set up the CAP program. 'Course we all got together and signed a petition to [inaudible] and that stopped the CAP. But, at this present time, we went around and talked to some of the people that was industry. White people. Would they help? Because the plantation and system economy is in such a bad shape. And they know now that some of the folks is trying to help out now by, you know, get people into adult literacy programs. This will stop maybe folks will get 30 dollars a week, but that's not the issue as much as trying to get people ready to learn something for themselves so they may can go into other jobs training. They have been harassed. They are being threatened on the phone. They are getting nasty letters. All kinds of paper in Sharkey County. They've got a newspaper out they call the Sharkey Underground. Now, these kinds of things is for people that is trying to do something. These is...we need some kind of protection, you know, even to get programs started. How hard it is even to get a poverty program started. Now, the hunger is [steady accumulating] and there's no possible way that we can overcome it unless we come under some free food stamps or either still stay on the commodities until we get some of these people trained.

KENNEDY: Is the hunger spreading now?

BLACKWELL: It's spreading.

KENNEDY: And what about the welfare program? Does that help?

BLACKWELL: Oh, Lord, that welfare. The welfare program. First, you be's discouraged in the first place, because you be's asked, I don't know what all, kinds of questions. You know, how long it's been since you've seen the [man] and all the kinds of things that I don't know what all. But you be's...all your dignity be took away from you in the welfare office. Now, when you do get

on the welfare. We have people in our county that's on welfare. Women with no husbands. They got three...I'll just start off with three children, because we got more than that, some of them got more children than that...is getting 29 dollars a month. Now, 29 dollars a month and they pay 30 cents for lunch and they may have three childrens going to school. Now, you know, they just can't make it off of that, and then they got to pay their light bill and water bill. They have to buy clothes. And all this have to go on out of 29 dollars a month. And, then, if you don't act right...if you stroll through the, you know, courthouse 'cause [inaudible] so many suits and everything else, you know, against them so they just kind of cool off some by taking people off of welfare, because they went to the courthouse and registered to vote and these kinds of things. The poverty programs are being discouraged in the way of saying that you can't participate in civil rights. I think this [inaudible] has been carried so far until people don't understand what civil rights is. We had a meeting and folks was standing up saying, "Well, is this civil rights to go and see about your child in the school?" And they'll send out a paper that says family income – over 300...3000 dollars or under 3,000 dollars. Now, nobody in Issaquena County, except I can count them on, you know, one hand, is making over 3000 dollars a year. I mean that, nobody. I'm talking about White and Negro. Now, when you say go out and see about your children. If they feel that it has been [stressed so] through all the press and everything about civil rights, is it civil rights to go over and see about my child in the school and find out if it's any possible way that this lunch can be cut down in the integrated schools it's 30 cents. In the segregated schools, all Negro, it's 15 cents. Now, what's the difference? That plan was made so you wouldn't put your child over in the integrated school, because it's 30 cents and you ain't got nothing no how, so you leave them over there for 15 cents and this has been done and we have [inaudible]. Now, people is stressing so about civil rights in the poverty programs. Senators, I want you all to know that, in Mississippi, if it hadn't been for civil rights, there wouldn't have been no poverty programs. Because this what people started out to get enough initiative to stand up to try to say, "Could they do something for themselves?" And that's what started the whole thing. Now, we're not looking for folks when they're working their eight hours or ever what, you know, time is the time they is, that we go on our protesting and standing and, you know, all these kinds of things. But I think that any program should be in a position to uplift the people and put dignity to them that they could go to the welfare office and ask, "What, you know, what is my rights?" and these kinds of things. And, also, to go and see about my child and these kinds of things. And I think that if we get...we scare folks to death. That's some of things, the weaknesses I saw in the poverty programs.

KENNEDY:

Now, let me ask you this. What are they...what percentage of the children that you just described...what percentage of the children in the area that we've been talking about do not have enough to eat?

BLACKWELL: The percentage of the childrens in the area that I've been describing you could say 95 per cent.

KENNEDY: What...what does their food consist of in a day? As an example.

BLACKWELL: Well, you go to some folks house, they have some grits in the morning, and if they have either some rice in the commodity buckets. In the evenings [inaudible] beans, those commodity beans boiled with meat and sometime without meat and sometime with the butter cut up in the, you know, beans to give it a little flavor. This is, you know, mostly what you will find. Now, when garden time is, maybe, of course, you'll find people with greens and things like this, fresh vegetables. This is the way it is in the Delta and not just only my county because I've been all over that Delta.

KENNEDY: Do you think that the poverty program is accomplishing its objective and, if not, how can it be improved?

BLACKWELL: Well, I think it has done a great deal to help people to understand that they can...there's something that they can do for themselves. See, I still think that folks have to be...may feel and they do feel that this program has started...that they can do something to help themselves. This is very important. We need more money in the state to strengthen the program. We need to strengthen the program. We've got to have...we must have participation on the local level, and I'm not talking about the local level of the same power structure, what I call power structure, of the plantation owners and the Board of Supervisors who have kept us in this bad a shape all the time. It has to be people that is involved themselves in the program that is reception of the program. The also the people who has fit, what we call it, to try to set up and talk to people and tell them what their rights are. These kind of people must be down there at the bottom making some decisions for themselves, and I think it's one of the weaknesses of the program if it's [inaudible] going back to qualifications. I'm worried about what is qualifications, because it has [inaudible] people. Now we got some forms to fill out that comes down from OEO, and I'm telling you the truth, it takes a lawyer to go over to fill out an application. Now these kinds of things would have to be, you know, something has to be done about it. I, also, think what has to be done to the program is that we put more money into training people. And, if we do have people with administrative ability, that the people can be trained into those abilities. I found out that folks can be trained, really trained, to do a lot of things, and here's one sitting here, because I used to chop cotton and I've come a long ways.

KENNEDY: I don't want to take anymore of my colleagues time.

CLARK: Senator Javits.

JAVITS: I'd like to address a question to the panel and then let whoever answers it...whoever desires to do so, answer it. Which of the programs do you consider the most important bearing in mind that we can't get everything in terms of practicality and money in the Congress? Do you consider therefore, the Head Start program, that is, the program for very young children, the most important or is there some other priority that anyone would like to suggest? Mrs. Hamer.

HAMER: Well, I think, Senator Javits, that the Head Start program is one of the most important factors in Mississippi now, because not only does it give the children a Head Start, but it will also give the adults a Head Start.

JAVITS: And may I point out that it, right now, gets a very large part of the funds which are available here, very much more than, for example, the training of adults, etcetera, like adult basic education. And that is out of the poverty program itself. Do I gather there's general agreement? Would anyone on the panel say if they dissent from the idea that they believe, too, that starting with the youngest is the really highest priority in the program?

CLARK: I want to suggest that [several] of you people...I have no views myself...might disagree with that who would feel that the STAR program, adult literacy, some of these other programs which tend to upgrade the work opportunity and the job opportunity of older people, might have a equally high priority. But I don't know whether you think that or not. Anybody want to respond to that?

HAMER: Senator Clark, I would like to speak to the adult education that has been conducted again in Sunflower County. From the people that have attended the adult school there, I don't know anything about STAR, because STAR works in the cities, and the rural area is without that kind of program that I think could be beneficial.

CLARK: How about...how about the neighborhood Youth Corp?

HAMER: Well, I don't know too much about that other than I did see a lot of kids out on the highways with coins in their hands from cutting grass and doing the thing that the Board of Supervisors should have had done by the county.

JAVITS: Well, now, I gather then, unless somebody demurs, that there is general agreement that, in view of the tremendous load of woe which has been carried here for so many tens of years, that it's best if you...to give the highest priority to the very young. All right now, the other question I'd like to ask, again to have some volunteer from the panel who will speak up, as you've heard other witnesses say that they think that there's a reasonable possibility of solving these problems within Mississippi and not leaving the

state in terms of the poor, because there's just not a chance here. Now, is there anyone who wishes to make any comment on that? Mr. Moore.

MOORE: Senator Javits, I don't see how we could possibly solve the problem by sending the people out of the state. I think the problem will have to be solved in the state. And I think the one way it can be solved is through the antipoverty program, because the state is so poor it can't tax its people to the point where it can get better schools, and industries have not come in where they can be gainfully employed plus the fact there's no apprenticeship training up in the Delta that I know anything about. So I think it's going to have to be the responsibility of the federal government to see that these people are trained in some type of skill and gainfully employed in the state wherein they reside.

JAVITS: Now, could we...could we ask Mr. Turner a question which relates to Mrs. Hardy's testimony. And, Mrs. Hardy, I would like to join with Senator Clark and Senator Kennedy and Senator Murphy in telling you how much we appreciate the courage which you are displaying in speaking as you are and to pledge you as one senator anything that I can do at any time to be sure that that is recognized rather than the other way. We'll get back to you. Mr. Turner, is there any disposition on the part of those Negroes who are involved in the program in Wayne County to exclude Whites or would you welcome White children and do you look for them?

TURNER: Oh, they welcome White children in the program. The only difference there is in the program, sir, is they want a change in the structure of the program, a independent program with voice in it. They welcome the White. We, in Wayne County, so far, has...they've done well so far. [Voting] and all has done well. 'Course it's a long, drawn out process. People have to understand each other, but we haven't had too much trouble in Wayne County, just speaking of Wayne County as in general.

JAVITS: Mr. Turner, we were...I was harking back to the testimony of Mrs. Hardy and the piece from the newspapers which she gave us which indicate that the trouble isn't that the Negro group is, itself, discriminating against Whites, but that there is a White extremist sentiment which is seeking to intimidate Whites from joining with Negroes in this program. That's what I was trying to develop for you that there was no purpose or desire to exclude White children on the Negro side. Is that right?

TURNER: That's right. That's right, sir.

JAVITS: Now, this one last question, then Mrs. Hardy, I think, wanted to say a word.

Will you pass that microphone to her? And, then, I just had one other question. Mrs. Hardy, I gather you wanted to make some comment. Mrs. Hardy, I gather you wanted to make some comment on this [inaudible].

HARDY: I would like to say that in Clara, Mississippi...it's an all White area. It has always been an all White area. We surveyed it. We have a minimum of 30 children, and we cannot get the center opened. Some way or another, in Wayne County, this program cannot get off its feet. I've been in it three months, and there's so few children that's benefiting from the program 'til we know there is something radically wrong, but we don't know what it is. And we have surveyed these children, and we know that they're ready to go, but we can't get started. And, then, we're told to quit. So, we'd like to know what you would want us to do.

JAVITS: Well, are these the White children, are they not?

HARDY: Absolutely.

JAVITS: And you suspect that somehow or other there's just enough of an atmosphere to worry those parents about joining in. Is that right?

HARDY: There's no center for them in Clara area. And we were told to tell the parents that no child would be bused in to this area to integrate it. That was not the purpose of the program. The purpose of the program was to help the child. Well, that's what we did. We told the truth. Now, we cannot back up our statements, because they're not opening the centers. All right, down in the [Errata] area down below Buckatunna, State Line, the White parents in that area. The reason I'm speaking of Whites is because we were sent to the White areas to survey. They said we accept integration, because our older children are integrated in State Line already, and our younger children are not any better than our young...than...and our older children are not any better than our younger children. We accept it, and we would be glad to have this. That is in a very poor area where parents are working at factories, and they have to get someone to keep their little children while they work. And it would help them so much if they could have a center.

JAVITS: Now, I just had one other question for the panel, and I'll yield. And that is, there's been a good deal of discussion here about the fact that U. S. agencies rather than local, state agencies of Mississippi would have to administer this program to really make it work. Does anybody disagree with that?

HARDY: I do.

JAVITS: You do. Why?

- HARDY: I think that, in Wayne County, if the people in Wayne County, percentagewise, White and Colored, could run their own program without interference from Jones County or any other county that does not have this Mississippi Action for Progress Program. That is a sore spot. They do not have this program in Jones County, and they should not come in Wayne County and tell Wayne County how to run the program. The people of Wayne County should run their own program, and they want to.
- JAVITS: Well, Mrs. Hardy, obviously, you cannot divide the counties of the state when it comes to the statehouse. So aren't you left with the fact that you're pretty much in agreement with the rest of the group that nothing much can be done that way as much as you think it would be desirable.
- CLARK: Well, I'd like to say, Senator Javits, that my impression of the testimony is, perhaps, a little different from yours. I thought most of these people wanted to run their own program at their own grassroots, administer themselves, but have the federal government put up some of the money. Am I...is that not [inaudible]
- HARDY: Right. That's right. Uh, huh.
- JAVITS: Everybody agrees with that.
- HARDY: Uh, huh. Right.
- JAVITS: Now, in putting up the money, do you want to deal with the federal government or do you want to deal with state government agencies as to who puts up the money?
- HARDY: Federal.
- JAVITS: Federal government. That was the point of my question. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- CLARK: Senator Murphy.
- MURPHY: I have no questions. I'd like to thank the panel. I had the privilege last night to have a chance to discuss these things with at least three members, and I think that you've done a great service to this committee so we'll know a bit more when we go back to write the legislation. Certainly know more about how to get this thing going than we did when we came here.
- CLARK: I have one...I have one question, Mrs. Blackwell, which is going to be very short. Mrs. Blackwell, Dr. Britton testified earlier that, in his opinion, there was no need for a program of Planned Parenthood in Mississippi. Do you agree?

- BLACKWELL: Well, I think that what he was saying the focus around that is one of the priority problems. I think that's what he was talking about. Because if...
- CLARK: Well, what do you think? In your experience with the women in the community, do you believe there is any need to make that type of information available, or do you think we ought...they ought to stay out of Mississippi?
- BLACKWELL: Well, information is very needed because of reasons of...now let's go back to how planned...I don't know very much about Planned Parenthood as much as we think we should. But, in Mississippi, if you go to taking pills and you don't have a husband, that automatically says to the Welfare Department that the man has been around.
- CLARK: Well, now, please, you know...
- BLACKWELL: Let me...let me explain what I'm saying. So, I think the need...
- CLARK: I'll talk to you about it later.
- BLACKWELL: I think the need... All right. I think the need, if people need that and want that, they should have that information.
- CLARK: Thank you very much. The committee will recess until 2 p.m. at which time we'll resume with our program. We stand in recess.
- [WALES] Good afternoon, everyone. This is Dallas [Wales] along with Forrest Cox returning now for the afternoon session of the special Senate subcommittee which is looking into federal antipoverty programs. We are speaking to you, of course, from the Olympic Room in the Heidelberg Hotel in downtown Jackson. The committee hearings this morning ran over, about an hour and 15 minutes over what they were supposed to, didn't they, Forrest? Wasn't that correct?
- COX: Yes, I believe so, Dallas. They...they seemed to, I don't want to say they got bogged down, but, actually, they didn't. They had quite a bit more testimony, I believe, than they had originally expected and, consequently, they ran behind. In fact, the senators are only taking about a three quarter of an hour lunch break. We're expecting them back in momentarily.
- [WALES]: That's right, because, when they did break about between 10 and 15 minutes after one, they were supposed to have ended up, of course, at 12, Senator Joe Clark did say they would be back at two o'clock. We might say, too, Forrest, it could have gone longer, because had the two senators who did not appear here, had they been here on this committee, then there would

have probably been more questions, more delving into facts and figures and it could have run even longer.

COX: Well, I can say this. Certainly these senators, when they came down here, they certainly had an intention in mind, an intent to really go into this poverty program, and all of the witnesses that they have had this morning, or all they had this morning, they questioned them at great length. In fact, they would interrupt them quite a number of times to ask them questions. I know one thing. I'd sure hate to have some of those questions thrown at me that were thrown out by some of these senators on this subcommittee here, I'll tell you for sure.

[WALES]: Well, they believe that...and I can appreciate saying this. I believe to my memory this is the first full subcommittee hearing that I've ever attended. And they really put them on the spot. They said, "We want the facts, now. Let's don't make generalizations. Put your finger right on it."

COX: That's right. You take in the case, of course, of Senator Clark here and, also, Senator Kennedy, you know they're old hands at this as well as Senator Javits, Republican from New York. Of course, I'm going to call Senator George Murphy of California the junior member.

[WALES]: The freshman senator.

COX: Well, yeah, that's right, and he was more or less reluctant, a little more reluctant, I would say, than some of the older members on this committee to ask some of these questions, however, he certainly didn't mind interrupting anytime he wanted to ask any question. The...I sort of got the idea, the questions that they were asking this morning, was the poverty program, was it effective as controlled on a local level or did some of the witnesses think that it should, perhaps, be controlled from a federal level. Didn't you get that idea?

[WALES]: This seems to be the whole, as I can understand, the main thrust of the...of the investigation. That possibly paralleled with is good use being made of this federal money that's being funneled down, not only in this state, into the rest of the nation.

COX: Well, of course, they were quick to admit now that the poverty program certainly has its fallacies, I guess, in just about every state that it's operating. And there are so many facets involved in this program. Of course, you've got your CGM. You've got, I noticed, STAR and MAP. And they're effective in some counties

[WALES]: [inaudible] CAP [inaudible].

COX: Yeah, well, in fact, there were some there that I never heard of until we had this hearing today.

[WALES]: Nor had I. They must be [peculiar] to there own county in which they're located.

COX: That's right. And, of course, one other thing that came under...that came under quite a bit of criticism this morning was the newly adapted food stamp plan that they have here in Mississippi. I believe that, I forget now just about how many counties are involved in this, but, from what I've been able to determine, we thought, perhaps, it might be successful, but I'm just about to change my mind on that.

[WALES]: [I am, too.]

COX: I [inaudible] can't say. From a certain standpoint, perhaps it is successful. From another standpoint, perhaps it isn't.

[WALES]: Well, I think some of these Negro people who were here this morning, and who are destitute and really need help, put their finger on a real trouble spot there. How can they... if they're...if they're poverty-stricken already, where are they going to get money to get food stamps to get food at reduced prices from?

COX: Well, that's true, too. In other words, as they call it, you have to purchase food stamps, but, actually, what it boils down to is you have to put a certain amount of money along with your food stamps, you see, in order to buy any food. You were speaking a few moments ago about some of these Negroes who testified here. Those who, perhaps, watched our earlier telecast as we opened, you know, we mentioned the fact that weren't too many people in the Olympic Room. Well, it didn't take it very long for that to change. In fact, apparently, some of these people came from a long distance here in the state of Mississippi. I noticed, as the hearings proceeded here, I would see 15 to 20 in a group come in, and I would say approximately 85 per cent of the audience here is colored. Wouldn't you think so?

[WALES]: Every bit of it. Now, one of the hotel officials said that they had set up to take care of 1,000 people, and the, I guess you would, well, we wouldn't want to call it audience, but I guess that's exactly what it is, though. And we wound up, we had people standing all around the walls. It was SRO.

COX: That's right. I understand, also, that they had to turn some of them back. They are having another meeting, I believe, here in the Heidelberg Hotel, and there's a large group of people here right now. I'd like to point out, too, the people are beginning to reassemble in here, so, apparently, the senators

will be coming back. Senator Robert Kennedy, I believe, left before they adjourned at noon. Well, it was around 12:30, I believe, before they adjourned. I understand he was going out to Millsaps College, I believe, to make a speech. Am I right on that?

[WALES]: Right. And it's my understanding, too, that our news department was able to get out there in time enough to get set up so they could film, at least, part of it. So, I'm sure you'll be getting some sort of report on that on our news. As you see while our camera is panning around, as we had told you, the Olympic Room was full when they broke up a while ago, and they've just now...the people have just now started to come back in and take their seats. I'd say it's about a third full at this time making probably some 400 people in here right now. I mentioned a while ago, too, that two of the senators of this special senate subcommittee is, or I should say are not present, weren't able to make it. One was Winston Prouty of Vermont. The other is Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin. Previous business kept them away. I think, as I understand it, that they are to join the subcommittee at some future date, maybe in Memphis. That's where they go from here. Tomorrow morning the subcommittee will leave Jackson around 9 o'clock, as I understand it, to go up through the Delta. They'll take a look at some of the Head Start and some of the poverty programs in that area. Visit the STAR center here in Jackson, I believe, before they leave. And from there they go on up into the state of Tennessee, and, again, as Forrest and I mentioned, this is only the beginning of a series of hearings that they will be holding in ten states. So it's not just indicative that something may be wrong here in Mississippi as Senator Clark pointed out and maybe you saw in on television last night or heard it on radio in the press conference that was held last evening, or at 6:30 yesterday evening, right here in this same Olympic Room that they didn't know what they were looking for. This is simply a fact finding thing to find out what's going on and why.

COX: Dallas, I'd, if we could, I'd like to point out, perhaps, to some of our listeners and some of our viewers...

[WALES]: Your going to have to move that way just a little bit.

COX: [inaudible] we are. [inaudible]

[WALES]: [inaudible] scoot over.

COX: I'd point out to some of our viewers and some of our listeners, perhaps, the context of Senator John Stennis' statements this morning, and, by the way, he was on the witness stand, I'd say, about 45 minutes, wasn't he?

[WALES]: Every bit of it. He was only scheduled for 15, but...I mean, excuse me, for 30 total, but, when he finished, there was quite a bit of exchange there.

COX: Senator Stennis, by the way, was the lead off witness this morning.

He was

the first one, and Senator Stennis was...he admitted that the entire idea of the poverty program, the CDGM, was certainly a good idea, but, of course, the...he went on to explain that in the past couple of years there were a number of fallacies brought out. And, as he explained it, as he pointed out, around 500,000, 600,000 dollars was unaccounted for. And, I believe, you could, oh, just about boil it down by saying that Senator Stennis, what he was interested in more than anything else, was strong legislation so that they could account for what happens to this money. Where does it go? Well, now, the other senators here on the subcommittee, they pointed out that, according to this large auditing firm, that they didn't see too many discrepancies. Of course, they said, now, they show where this money is accounted for, this money is accounted for. But, according to the senator from Mississippi, well, he was certainly far from satisfied on that. And, perhaps, from some of the rumors that I'm sure a lot of you folks in Mississippi have heard, perhaps he might be right on that. So, he is advocating strong laws, strong legislation. He's advocating this group go back to Washington and write into a law to the effect where there will be a much broader accounting for the money exactly to show where it went and what it went for.

[WALES]: Well, I think that's, of course, what this committee is doing is gathering information, not only from Mississippi, as we said, but from other states, too, as to how effective the poverty program has been so far, and they're to rewrite the bill, as I understand it. And they're looking for suggestions as to how they can improve the bill when they do rewrite it. The general...two general points of thrust of Senator Stennis' testimony was and his suggestions to them – one was, of course, proper accounting, that they hold tighter reins on the money and see that the taxpayer gets his full tax dollar's worth out of what's being spent. Number two was, of course, that he felt that the Sargent Shriver, the director of the OEO, had, somehow or another, become under undue pressure and that the government...a person like this should not be subjected to this type pressure, and, as I assume, they're going to make it, well, he's asking for them to make it law so this cannot happen.

COX: Well, it looks as though where you have, I'd say, as many people dealing with something like this, I suppose you do have to have guidelines set down in writing and make it mandatory, of course, that you do follow this. Now, the senator pointed out something that was quite interesting to me. I didn't know this. He pointed out that a child in the Head Start program, that it took, oh, somewhere in the neighborhood, in comparison to states, the amount of money that a child receives for his education, for instance, in Mississippi, he pointed out that, perhaps, this child in Head Start will

receive from two to three times more money allotted to getting him started, you see, in education than the average school child will in Mississippi. Well, when you take into consideration, of course, the fact that here you have an underprivileged child coming into this Head Start program, perhaps, from an underprivileged home, and they pointed out, also, undernourished. They, by the way, give them meals, nourishing meals, at these Head Start programs. Well, you can see where some of that money will go [inaudible]

[WALES]: Right. Bob Ezell pointed that out quite [inaudible].

COX: That's right. By the way, while...while we're talking about some of the witnesses or, especially, Senator Stennis here, you, also, have a list, I believe, of some of the other witnesses who appeared on [inaudible]

[WALES]: Right. [inaudible]. Let's run through that. I just mentioned Mr. Robert Ezell of Jackson. Of course, he's a Jackson businessman. He's president of the Mississippi [Bedding] Cooperation. He's, also, a board member of STAR, Incorporated, and he gave testimony in relation to STAR and it's program of adult education. That is your adults, especially in the literacy field, in trying to get them equipped so that they can hold jobs and get them to useful and gainful employment, not only to themselves, but to the community. Excuse me. He's on the advisory board of the Jackson Head Start Committee, and he's former president, as all of you know, of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce. Now, he testified quite lengthily, and he was the one that drew this comparison. He says, "Really, it's unfair. It's like talking about apples and oranges. You're not talking about the same thing when you say that you're spending 1300 dollars for an impoverished child to get them started off as you are a child that has had, probably, most of the opportunities that everyone else has had, and you [inaudible] him into public school." He said, too, the buildings are already there and drew quite a good comparison of the thing and...

[Break in tape]

[WALES]: ...as to why it did cost more and says that he feels it's a good realistic figure.

COX: You know, Dallas, we were talking...we keep talking about the Child Development Program here in the state. Of course, this entire hearing is centered around the President's Poverty Program, and we were mentioning Robert Ezell there a few moments ago and his testimony this morning, and it has, also, been brought out many times here and has been quite evidence of the heavy influx of the population, Negroes especially, moving from the plantation areas of your Delta to your larger cities, your industrial areas to the North. Well, of course, it's quite obvious here that this is something that

is undesirable. Now, I think another reason, perhaps, for this Senate subcommittee hearing here is to, perhaps, try to find some answer to stop this. Now, they pointed out that, in the past few years, I believe somewhere in the neighborhood of around 200,000 adults have migrated to the larger cities: Buffalo, Rochester, New York, St. Louis, Los Angeles and Detroit. Well, of course, they go up there. They have no place to go to work up there...

[WALES]: True.

COX: ...because they're unskilled. Actually, what happens, they're going from a plantation, you might say, what they'd been doing, cotton chopping, picking cotton, you know, and they were replaced by mechanization. Well, that movement, in all likelihood, is even, perhaps, going to get heavier this year.

[WALES]: Right.

COX: Of course, your minimum wage law, you see, went into effect. Well, consequently, an awful lot of your farmers, your Delta planters, your large plantation owners, they...they...I...I hardly see, in fact, I've talked to a number of them, it's going to be mighty hard for them to keep as many, as you would say, hired hands around as they've been having. So, there's another problem, you see.

[WALES]: So, we going to have more poverty on top of poverty, because these people, simply, are not equipped for existence in the city life, are they?

COX: Well, of course, that is one of the purposes, too, of your poverty program, you see. Trying to train these people in some type of a job here and to keep them here in the state of Mississippi, you see. Perhaps, it might not...it may not make as much money, perhaps, as they had originally. Maybe they'll make more. But, nevertheless, they will be qualified to do something a little bit more. Well, now, there is...this is how your poverty program works. Perhaps, training some of these people who, by the way, perhaps, never had over a fourth grade education. They don't know how to read or write, perhaps. But, nevertheless, the idea is to try to keep them here in the state of Mississippi. I notice Senator...well, I see a couple or three of them already...

[WALES]: Senator Clark and Senator Murphy have just returned. That's the only two that are back so far. Forrest, I think you've put your finger on something. It was interesting to me that some of the people who testified on behalf of the impoverished Negro people, the people who are involved in this poverty program, don't want to go anywhere else to make a living. They don't want...

COX: That's right. They want to stay here.

[WALES]: That seemed to be evident all the way through that. In fact, Ken Dean, who is the Executive Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, went on to point out that those who had gone away to Buffalo and to New York or Chicago or someplace like that were...had some terrible experiences, and that they simply did not want to do that. They wanted to do it on their own right here in Mississippi.

COX: Well, that's true. They, as we pointed out earlier, of course, this is their home. They know nothing but Mississippi. And you can't blame them, you know. Certainly, they want to stay here if at all possible. We'll be back, by the way, in just a moment with the hearings from the Olympic Room here in the Heidelberg Hotel.

CLARK: The subcommittee will [inaudible] ...that some of us had [inaudible] appointments that we had to keep. I had a date with the Mayor, who is an old friend of mine. And Senator Javits and Senator Kennedy, I'm sure, will be along pretty soon, but we have a heavy schedule this afternoon and, therefore, I'd like to ask the panelists on manpower to come up here. I'll read their names. Mr. George Busby of Carthage, Mississippi; Mrs. Pinky Richards of Canton, Mississippi; Mrs. Hattie Mae Hendricks of Jackson; Mr. Jessie Montgomery of Hinds County. And I don't know whether Mrs. Thelma Barnes of Greenville is here or not, but if she is, I hope she comes forward...

[WALES]: The hearings are just beginning to start, and he is calling a community leaders panel that is a manpower panel to the witness stand at this time. They are Hattie Mae Hendricks of Jackson, let's see, Mrs. George Busby of Carthage, Mrs. Peggy Richards of Lexington and one other gentleman's name whose name I did not get. So, now the hearings will start.

CLARK: ...and the lady in the middle...

END OF SIDE 1

AU 1059 – SIDE 2

RICHARDS: Mrs. Richards.

CLARK: Mrs. Busby? Mrs. Richards. Pinky Richards. And the gentleman on the right. Who are you, sir? Mr. Busby. Fine. [inaudible] Let me just call the names again of those who we hope will be here and who are not. Mrs. Thelma Barnes is not here? And Mrs. Hendricks is not here? Well, we'll go on with you three who, as I understand it, have had some experience with

manpower programs and problems in the state. And I'll ask each of you, if you will, in turn, to give us in, perhaps, three minutes your thinking and your experiences, and, then, we'll give the senators an opportunity to question you [inaudible]. And I'll ask Mrs. Richards to start off.

RICHARDS: STAR has been a great deal of help to me, and in a number of ways, it has brought me up to a success that I might do better in getting a better job. And, also, it really helped a lot, because I have learned a great deal through STAR.

CLARK: Let me interrupt you for just a moment to tell our viewers and the audience that Mrs. Pinky Richards, who is now with MDTA in Lexington, Mississippi, is a graduate of the STAR basic education program, and, perhaps, you'll tell us a little bit, Mrs. Richards, if you don't mind, as to how far you went to school.

RICHARDS: Tenth.

CLARK: Tenth grade?

RICHARDS: That's right.

CLARK: And you're married?

RICHARDS: Married.

CLARK: Do you have some children?

RICHARDS: Four.

CLARK: And how old are they?

RICHARDS: Seven, three, four and two.

CLARK: And your...is your...is your husband alive?

RICHARDS: My husband and I are separated.

CLARK: I see. So how have you been supporting yourself, Mrs. Richards?

RICHARDS: Well, I had a factory job, but I got laid off. And, so, this program where I am going to, they help assist me, you know, in my work.

CLARK: Now, would you tell us how you happened to get into the STAR program and what you think it did for you?

RICHARDS: Well, I got into STAR by...over to the Catholic School, Mrs. [Sample] and a lot...they helped me out, and I didn't have a fifth grade education, so I went to STAR, and they helped me out a great deal.

CLARK: What did they teach you there?

RICHARDS: We had spelling and mathematics and [inaudible]

CLARK: How long did you stay there?

RICHARDS: Three months.

CLARK: And, then, what did you do when you got through?

RICHARDS: Well, I went to the employment agency, and they give me a test for this Manpower Development Program, and, so, I made it.

CLARK: So, did you get a job?

RICHARDS: Well, I'm going to school. I have to go to school nine months, and I will be, I hope, successful in a job.

CLARK: Are you still at school?

RICHARDS: Yes, sir.

CLARK: Are you getting paid anything?

RICHARDS: I don't get paid for going.

CLARK: I see. Uh huh. Now, can you tell us anything more about what you found out about the STAR program?

RICHARDS: Well, like I say before, I am, at this time, I am on a good [base] for getting a good job. And I hope to get my high school equivalent and to continue and do by best, and...

CLARK: Well, thank you very much. Now, Mr. Busby, will you tell us what your connection has been with this program? You better pull that microphone over in front of you.

BUSBY: [inaudible]

CLARK: Mr. Busby, we can't hear you. You'll have to pull it closer over to your mouth.

BUSBY: I say I think...

CLARK: That's good.

BUSBY: ...the STAR program is about the best we have in the country. It's done a lot
for [inaudible]

CLARK: You'll have to speak a little louder, because nobody can hear you. You say the STAR program has done a great deal for you.

BUSBY: Yes, it has [inaudible]

CLARK: Now, can you tell us how far you went in school?

BUSBY: Well, I went to school to the fourth grade, sir.

CLARK: Fourth grade?

BUSBY: That's when I started STAR.

CLARK: Yeah. Would you please try to stick with that microphone because we just can't hear you. Just speak a little louder. Tell us again what you just said.

BUSBY: I wouldn't know what grade that I actually finished. I haven't taken very much training. It did do me a lot of good.

MURPHY: Get back into that microphone [inaudible] like I do.

CLARK: Just yell at it.

MURPHY: See, I've only got half a vocal chord left on one side, but if you get in close. You sound like Everett Dirksen.

CLARK: There's a whole lot of people here, Mr. Busby, who'd like to hear you.

MURPHY: You've got to get close to it.

BUSBY: [inaudible] I would like them to hear me.

CLARK: Oh, that's right.

MURPHY: That's good. That's better.

BUSBY: Well, I've said about all I can say. It's a wonderful program.

CLARK: And what did you study?

BUSBY: And it's done a great deal for the people. It has for me and I know it's helped lots of them.

CLARK: What did you study there?

BUSBY: Well, basic education.

CLARK: Reading?

BUSBY: Reading, writing...

CLARK: Writing?

BUSBY: English, arithmetic.

CLARK: A little arithmetic?

BUSBY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: Now, what...what...what kind of a job did you have before you went to the STAR program?

BUSBY: Not any, sir.

CLARK: Didn't have any job?

BUSBY: No, sir.

CLARK: Were you on relief?

BUSBY: No.

CLARK: How did you support yourself?

BUSBY: I'm a retired civil service employee.

CLARK: How old are you?

BUSBY: 58.

CLARK: And what kind of a civil service job did you have?

BUSBY: Well, I was employed [inaudible] at New Orleans.

CLARK: Are you a Mississippian?

BUSBY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: But you were working over in Louisiana?

BUSBY: At the time. I was disabled there [back in] '54, I believe.

CLARK: I see. Now, are you married?

BUSBY: Well, I've been married.

CLARK: Do you have some children?

BUSBY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: Are they grown?

BUSBY: Two of them are, and I have a little boy, 11.

CLARK: Now, how did you manage to support them? On your pension?

BUSBY: Well, it's pretty hard to.

CLARK: And what kind of a job...have you gotten a job since you got through with STAR?

BUSBY: No, not since I got through with STAR. No, I haven't.

CLARK: Just unemployed right now?

BUSBY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: Since you have your retirement. Your pension.

BUSBY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: And what are you looking forward to?

BUSBY: Well, I'm looking forward, at least, I'd like to look forward to some more education.

CLARK: And how do you plan to get it?

BUSBY: Well, that's up to you gentlemen as to how I'm going to get it.

CLARK: That's the question. And you're living in Carthage?

BUSBY: Out from Carthage, sir.

CLARK: Now, where was this program? Where did you go for this STAR program?

BUSBY: What?

CLARK: What town? What city did you go to for this STAR program? Was it here in Jackson?

BUSBY: What city did I [inaudible] to?

CLARK: No, but you've been in the STAR program. You've been living in Carthage all along?

BUSBY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: I see. And that's where you got the instruction?

BUSBY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: I see. Well, now let's hear from Mr. Montgomery, is it?

MONTGOMERY: Right.

CLARK: Would you tell us about your experience?

MONTGOMERY: My first [beginning] try to get in the STAR program. I went out and applied to get in the STAR program. My grade level is a fourth grade [scholar] as far as I got in school. Then when I went out to apply to get in the STAR school, I had a wife and six children to support. My earnings was a part-time mechanic at that time, and I wasn't making enough money, didn't have enough education to move into a good job. But then I applied to get into the STAR school. The lady that interviewed me, she asked me would I be willing to go to school for 35 dollars per week. I told her no, that it wouldn't support my family.

CLARK: Let me ask you, how many children do you have?

MONTGOMERY: Six children.

CLARK: And is your wife living with you?

MONTGOMERY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: And how old are the children?

MONTGOMERY: Seven to 17. They're all in school.

CLARK: Now, how have you been supporting them?

MONTGOMERY: Through part-time mechanic work up until that time. Then after I said I couldn't support my family with that kind of salary, she said that's the best she could do. Then I moved on and went down to the employment office and put in for some manpower development. Now I have 25 year of mechanic experience that I...that's what I was doing for a living at that time. Then I went in for the [inaudible] welding to improve my business in mechanical work. Then they carried me to an aptitude test [inaudible] to be qualified. Well, I flunked the test. And, then, well, after then I got a job with the [inaudible] was a community organizes with the Hinds County Community College. And that is an organization made up by poor people all over the county. Then those peoples come in and make the decision on what kind of job do they try to get into. And that's where I been supporting my family, through that organization.

CLARK: So, do you think this experience you had with STAR was helpful to you?

MONTGOMERY: I do.

CLARK: And you've got a better job now than you had before you went there?

MONTGOMERY: I have.

CLARK: Senator Murphy.

MURPHY: I have no questions. I thank the witness [inaudible].

CLARK: Thank you very much. We appreciate having all three of you here. Is there anything any one of you would like to say? We don't want to cut you short. If not, thank you very much.

MURPHY: I'd might say it's a pleasure to hear some people that feel that the program is working very well and that they have benefited from it.

CLARK: Yes, that's right. Thank you very much. Our next witness is Mr. Floyd Ramsey of Jackson, President of Mississippi State AFL-CIO and a member of the board of STAR.

[WALES]: We'll return for more of the hearings in just a moment.

CLARK: ...[who] has, I know, a prepared statement which I will ask to have printed

for the record at this point. Then I ask you to summarize it, if you will, and just hit the high spots.

RAMSEY:

Gentlemen, I appreciate very much the opportunity to appear before you today. Considering the fact that no state in the nation needs the various public programs designed to eliminate poverty than does Mississippi, I deem it most appropriate that you've seen fit to hold this hearing in Jackson. Poverty has long been a way of life for many people of this state and will continue to be so unless an all out effort is put forth to eliminate the cause. Considering the magnitude of the problem, it will require the expenditure of many million dollars. This money will have to come from the federal government. Mississippi simply does not have the necessary revenue. According to figures recently released by the United States Department of Labor, over a third of the families living in Mississippi earn less than 3,000 dollars a year. Please get the significance of this. Over a third of our state's population do not earn enough money to purchase the necessities of life. In my opinion, poverty in Mississippi is directly related to the lack of education and/or the lack of educational opportunities. According to the 1960 census, Mississippi's population was 2,178,141. This census showed that 1,064,976 people were over age 25 and that 160,015 had less than a fourth grade education. This census disclosed that over 40,000 had no formal education at all and further disclosed that approximately 48 per cent received no more than an eighth grade education. Simply stated, almost half of our state's population is either illiterate or functionally illiterate. Recently conducted educational studies disclosed that the problem is getting worse instead of better. These studies indicate that only 28.5 per cent of the children who enroll in high...enroll finish in high school and that 23,000 dropped out of school only last year. We have no way of knowing the number who never enrolled, but we suspect it is a significant figure. It appears to me that a true picture of our problem can be found in the percentage of young people who failed the Armed Forces qualification test in 1964. During that year, 53.9 per cent failed.

CLARK:

That's in Mississippi?

RAMSEY:

In Mississippi. This figure was exceeded only by South Carolina where the percentage was 54.6. In the words of the late John F. Kennedy, today's military rejects include tomorrow's hard-core unemployed. The young man who does not have what it takes to perform military service is not likely to have what it takes to make a living. It should be pointed out that many of the problems just mentioned can be attributed to the absence of a compulsory school attendance law and is the direct responsibility of the state of Mississippi. Our state's compulsory attendance law was repealed in 1956, which means that our school officials have been unable to force parents to keep their children in school for over 10 years now.

- CLARK: Let me ask you to tell us why that law was repealed. It seems rather an unusual action.
- RAMSEY: In the words of Governor Barnett, it was part of a package deal to preserve segregation. It is a forgoing conclusion that our problems with illiteracy will continue to grow until such a law is placed on the statute books. You have my assurance that we in the AFL-CIO are doing everything possible towards this end.
- CLARK: Now, let me interrupt you to ask you how many members the AFL-CIO has in Mississippi.
- RAMSEY: We have approximately 60,000, Senator, and we hope to have several more thousand before the year [inaudible]
- CLARK: Yeah, just tell us for the record which are the principle unions, the ones with the largest membership.
- RAMSEY: Well, we have the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The other electrical unions have several thousand members. Paper makers and pulp workers and some of the regular [line] unions you find in most places.
- CLARK: Do you have any International Lady Garment Workers?
- RAMSEY: We did have a few locals, but they...we lost them by...and I want to talk about this a little bit later on.
- CLARK: Well, let me ask you this question before I let you proceed. This is not a highly unionized state, is it?
- RAMSEY: No, sir, but we are not...we have a larger percentage of the work force organized in several other states, believe it or not, according to figures put out by the Department of Labor. As you probably know, Mississippi is in a period of transition. We're rapidly moving from an agrarian economy to an industrial economy. Many thousands of people have been pushed off the farms and plantations in recent years by mechanization of farm equipment. Even though jobs are available, these people are unemployed, because most of them have no education. I should, also, point out that they do not appear in statistics as being unemployed for they have never been covered by unemployment insurance, and I want you to get the significance of this. In effect, this means that the Public Works and Economic Development Act is denied to a number of Mississippi counties. I would respectfully suggest that you, also, investigate this while in Mississippi. If Mississippi...

- CLARK: [inaudible] ask do you think there's a great deal of underemployment in Mississippi?
- RAMSEY: Absolutely.
- CLARK: And that's not marked by any statistics?
- RAMSEY: No, sir. That doesn't show up in the statistics either. If Mississippi is to take its proper place in this nation, all of its people must be turned into productive citizens. Many people in this state are very concerned over the present state of affairs and are doing their best to help solve the problem. When the Economic Opportunity Act was passed in 1964, we in the AFL-CIO joined with others and demanded that Mississippi take advantage of the programs offered. It was a most difficult task at the time, but I can report to you today that much is currently being done. As I have already indicated, one of our most pressing problems is the lack of adult education. We in the AFL-CIO have done our best to help initiate adult education and training programs throughout the state. I have served on the executive board of the Systematic Training and Redevelopment Program since its inception and am proud of the fact that the doors to opportunity have been opened to several thousands of our unfortunate citizens.
- CLARK: Let me interrupt you for a moment there, Mr. Ramsey. We had some testimony this morning from a witness who was...
- RAMSEY: Mr. Ezell.
- CLARK: Mr. Ezell, yeah, and I wanted to ask you to what extent...your on the STAR board...to what extent does STAR work through the school system and the public health service and the Bureau of Employment Security and to what extent is it an independent agency which goes its own way?
- RAMSEY: What did you say? Run that one by me again.
- CLARK: Well, my concern is whether STAR is closely coordinated with the Mississippi school system and with the Mississippi Public Health Department or Service and with the Mississippi Employment Security, which should be in the business of getting jobs, or whether, on the other hand, STAR operates rather independently of those state and federal [inaudible]
- RAMSEY: Senator, I will touch on that in just a few minutes.
- CLARK: All right. I'll wait for that.
- RAMSEY: Yes. We have several other adult training programs in progress, but the fact

remains the surface has only been scratched. If these unemployed, unemployable people are to be turned into productive citizens, it is mandatory that a massive program of adult education be initiated, and, as I've already stated, these programs will have to be financed by the federal government. As you know, a number of OEO financed programs have been experimental, and a few mistakes have been made. I am not here to defend those mistakes, however, I think it only fair to point out that OEO is only two years old, and that we should expect growing pains in an organization that is so diversified. Considering the need for these programs in Mississippi and elsewhere in the nation, I would suggest that we concentrate our efforts towards correcting those mistakes instead of trying to destroy the entire program. As these programs developed in Mississippi during the past two years, my major criticism was the lack of coordination between the various agencies. I have recently been advised that this situation has been corrected, and that a coordinated council has been organized. Now, Senator, this is what I was referring to a minute ago. This council is comprised of the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Bureau of Adult and Vocational Education, Welfare Administration, Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, Office of Economic Opportunity, Department of Commerce and the Department of Urban Renewal.

CLARK: Well, now...

RAMSEY: Now, this...this is what I think you were getting at, Senator. [inaudible] adult training.

CLARK: Now, all those are federal agencies.

RAMSEY: Yes, but the vocational...the vocational people with the State Department of Education are participating here at this level.

CLARK: Well, that was the...that was the trust of my question and I wish you would, perhaps, response to it directly as to what extent the STAR program right down here in Mississippi is tied in with the Mississippi primary secondary educational system. Do you work very closely with them, or do you work...

RAMSEY: Yes.

CLARK: ...only with Washington?

RAMSEY: Yes, yes, very much so. I think that it can be said that there's good cooperation at this particular part of our state government with these programs.

CLARK: Now, who is...who's the chairman of this coordinating council?

RAMSEY: I don't recall now who it is, but Mr. Simmons with the Employment Security Commission follows me, and I think he can fill this in for you.

CLARK: Yeah, but, in any event, the chairman is a federal official?

RAMSEY: I'm not sure about that, sir. Might be. [inaudible]

CLARK: Now, who...who provides the staff service? You don't know that?

RAMSEY: Who does what?

CLARK: Provides the staff for the coordinating council.

RAMSEY: I think, probably, Mr. Simmons does, and, again, he follows me and I'm sure he can give you all the details.

CLARK: Now, who pays for your staff at STAR?

RAMSEY: The staff at STAR?

CLARK: Yeah.

RAMSEY: They're on the payroll at STAR.

CLARK: Yeah, but where does STAR get its money? From OEO?

RAMSEY: Yes. Well, as Mr. Ezell pointed out to you this morning, it's funded from OEO and Labor. Some money from Labor.

CLARK: Right. Ok. Go ahead.

RAMSEY: Well, the council...the council means that a graduate of STAR should be able to enroll...if the council is successful as we visualize it and put together a coordinating program as we've been trying to talk about...it means that a graduate of STAR should be able to enroll in an MDTA program and learn the skills of a trade after receiving basic education.

CLARK: Now, is this happening?

RAMSEY: Yes, we've had some of it happen. We haven't had as much of it happen as we'd like to see. That's the reason we...we need this coordinating council whereby we can put a manpower training program close by, an adulterated program, and try to tie the cycles in together where, when the individual finishes basic education, they would then be able to move into a manpower training program. That's as we visualize it. That's what we hope comes out

of it. It necessary follows that the council's success is dependent on the amount of money allocated to various programs. Again, I'd like to point out that the surface has only been scratched. STAR has enrolled less than 8,000 people, and less than 3,000 have been enrolled in various MDTA programs throughout the state. Obviously, if the job is to be done, it will require many more millions of dollars than those already spent. If poverty is to be eliminated in Mississippi, I am convinced that we must go where the evil begins, and that is none other than the education of our youth. It appears to me that Head Start offers the vehicle to break the vicious circle of poverty and [slavery]. For the first time, many families who have been born and raised as wards of the state are given the hope that their children will not have a similar fate. If you do nothing else while you are in Mississippi, I would suggest that you visit and listen to the experiences of some of these people. After doing so, I am convinced you will make a sincere effort to see that these programs are continued. As a matter of fact, one of our own United States senators should go along with you. Certainly, mistakes and errors have been made in some of the Head Start programs. As already stated, I am not here to defend those mistakes or errors. I would simply like to point out that many of these problems have been operating under adverse conditions, and that the people who initiated them in the beginning did so at the risk of their lives. To me their success is a surprising factor. As in adult education, I must also point out that the surface has only been scratched by Head Start. As of this date, only 36,000 children have enrolled during the past two years. The record shows that almost 90 million dollars has been spent in Mississippi since OEO and MDTA were first funded. 90 million dollars has meant an awful lot to the economy of this state. In addition to helping lift people out of poverty, it has meant jobs for several thousand people. Last, but not least, it has meant one other thing, and it is probably the most important. It has been responsible for bringing Whites and Blacks to the conference table where they could discuss problems of mutual interest. To me it would be a real tragedy if these programs were abandoned just when we appear to be making significant progress. Again, in behalf of the organization I represent, let me say I have appreciated this opportunity and do hope you will recommend a continuation as well as an expansion of these programs.

CLARK: Thank you very much, Mr. Ramsey. How long have you been in Mississippi?

RAMSEY: Senator, my ancestors have settled Mississippi. They moved here in 1880.

CLARK: You've lived here all your life.

RAMSEY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: And did you hear Senator Stennis testify this morning?

RAMSEY: Yes, sir.

CLARK: Do you have any comments on his criticism of the poverty program in general and the Mississippi child development group in particular?

RAMSEY: Yes, sir. I'll comment on Mr. Stennis' statement here this morning. I don't think Mr.-Senator Stennis is fully aware of what the problem is in this state. I don't think that he realizes...

I frankly don't think that Senator Stennis realizes the magnitude of the problem in Mississippi.

CLARK: Yeah, but how about...how about his specific criticism of the...

RAMSEY: Of CDGM?

CLARK: Yeah.

RAMSEY: Well, I think that Senator Kennedy cleared that one up when he brought forth the Ernst and Ernst audit here today.

CLARK: Well, there are some who think it needs some more clearing up than that, but [inaudible]

RAMSEY: Well, let me say this, Senator, that, you know, the proper thing to do is to prosecute if there's fraud involved and, if somebody has got rid of some money, they should do the same thing that happened to Jimmy Hoffa. He should be put in jail. There's no point in getting into a big discussion about this and trying to destroy the whole [inaudible].

CLARK: Well, I just want to know whether you know whether the Senator's charges that vast sums of money were wasted. You heard what he said. In your opinion, were those charges justified?

RAMSEY: Well, Senator, I did a study to the best of my knowledge to try to find out what was going on in CDGM after it broke in the press, and I wasn't able to find anything like the charges he made frankly.

CLARK: Senator Javits.

JAVITS: Mr. Ramsey, you will notice that the charges made by Senator Stennis related to the fact that certain figures were questioned and certain figures were challenged.

RAMSEY: Yes.

JAVITS: And that, of course, only opens the door to their being answered, and that's exactly what has, so far, happened in respect to this accountant's report. So that I don't think anyone can draw any conclusions from what's challenged or questioned...

RAMSEY: Yes, sir.

JAVITS: ...until we find out what the answer is. And I think that's certainly fair comment that the conclusions drawn were quite unjustified. Now, there are two things about your testimony I'd like to ask you. One is the effect of the minimum wage on the situation of the farm worker and how that has effected the poverty problem in the state.

RAMSEY: Well, I don't...I...It hasn't been in effect long enough I don't think, Senator,
to really evaluate it. I think, probably, the increased minimum wage will probably hasten mechanization of the equipment on these farms that hasn't taken place already, but this has been going on for a long time, and I...I don't believe that there'll be over 10 per cent more people effected than have already been pushed off in the last, say, 10 or 12 years. That's my personal opinion of that.

JAVITS: Well, is it a fact, Mr. Ramsey, that the statement made here that the earning level has been three dollars a day for chopping cotton, as it's called, by these very people is an accurate statement of the degree to which labor has really been sweated here to use the term by which I'm very familiar?

RAMSEY: Right.

JAVITS: That is correct?

RAMSEY: Yes, sir.

JAVITS: Now, the other thing that interested me greatly is that one thing that [inaudible] the country is violence, and that has certainly not been absent here with respect to the racial situation. Now, we've had conflicting testimony on that today, and I'd like to ask you if you can help us resolve it. I notice that you say in page five of your statement, quote, "I would simply like to point out that many of these programs have been operating under adverse conditions, and that the people who initiated them in the beginning did so at the risk of their lives." That's pretty serious business.

RAMSEY: Yes, sir. That's a true statement.

JAVITS: Well, now, I'm not challenging that at all. I'd like to point out to you that

Mr. Dean who testified this morning, Executive Director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, said that the most significant advance that he recorded was the fact that there now, in his judgment, was a state policy against violence which meant that all the agencies of the state from the governor down could be turned against violence and they'd fight out their problems in the peaceful way, whatever that may mean. But not assuming for a minute that peaceful ways cannot be pretty lethal, too, with economic boycotts, etcetera. At least it's not overt violence. Then we have testimony from Mrs. Hardy in which she said that right now or currently [inaudible] there has been violent efforts with intimidation, people's houses shot into, and so on. Now, can you give us any enlightenment on this subject? Is there or is there not an end to the phase of violence here on this...in this issue?

RAMSEY: Senator, Mr. Dean's statement was, I think, accurate. In several respects, there has been significant progress made in Mississippi in the last couple of years, and, of course, we still have a long ways to go. Much progress has really been made, and I might say that I've been on the receiving end of some of the threats and intimidations quite often myself and I can certainly sympathize with the people that we're talking about. In the summer of 1964, we had 40 some odd churches bombed and burned in this state. We had several people murdered. There was a threat of a national boycott of all goods produced in Mississippi, and it was at this point that the business community realized that this matter had to be resolved, if you please, in a peaceful manner. And at this time they came forth and said that law and order should prevail in Mississippi. And the Governor, himself, took a position and things began to change at that point. It doesn't mean that we still don't have problems in certain areas of the state. We do have them. And, of course, I'm not going to say that the Governor and the law officials in the state can stop it overnight, you know. But we still have this element that thinks that they can keep things from changing, and they're going to try to do everything they can to keep some of these programs from being successful. We had one of our STAR centers burned down last year when we put mobile units over there and armed guards, and it's operating today.

JAVITS: But you are now satisfied that the policy of this state, from the Governor and the law enforcement officials and all elements of the state in any official or responsible capacity, is turned against violence?

RAMSEY: Well, that's a pretty broad statement, Senator, to say all. I say that those people...the Governor, especially the Governor, has done an excellent job in the face of everything that we have here. Certainly. And I'm not in a position to advise you as to what the situation might be in given towns and communities throughout the state. I know, at one point, that we had some local law officials that were identified as members of the Klan. Whether that still exists, I don't know.

- JAVITS: Well, to what extent would you say, therefore, there's been progress [inaudible]?
- RAMSEY: Well, I think the fact that we're having this meeting here today and the fact that we have all of these programs going on in our state today and the case that the problem is getting better, that we've got White people and Negroes sitting down together, something we didn't have two years ago.
- JAVITS: Now, may I ask you this question? Do you believe with many of the other witnesses that it is possible to redeem the situation in this state so that people will stay here or can stay here so they don't have to leave?
- RAMSEY: Yes, I think so. It's going to take a little while, I think, to get over what you... really what you might say is the hump, but I'm confident that we will reach that point.
- CLARK: Well, now, let me ask you, Mr. Ramsey. I don't want to be a pessimist. I really don't. But how in the dickens are you going to keep those people in the state up in the Delta who have been pushed off these farms and have nowhere to go the way so many witnesses testified this morning? How can they afford to stay in the state? There's nobody to feed them. There's nobody to house them. How are they going to eat?
- RAMSEY: Senator, there has to be an effort made to locate industry in the Delta section of the state and some industry is being located there.
- CLARK: Yeah, but that'll take years, won't it? Meanwhile, these people have to eat tomorrow morning.
- RAMSEY: Well, this, of course, is true. But if we're going to...if we're going to really solve the problem from a, you know, from a long range point of view and get where we really want to be, then the things I've mentioned here have to be done. This large pool of unemployed...unemployable people not to be given basic education and training whereby they can hold a job and make a living. We actually have a labor shortage in Mississippi right now.
- JAVITS: Mr. Ramsey, they have to stay alive, one. And there has to be a job...
- RAMSEY: Well, see, that's been my problem, Senator, is staying alive.
- JAVITS: [chuckles] And there has to be a job when they're trained. My colleagues have pointed out...Senator Clark quite properly just a minute ago...we find no means by which either of these is to be accomplished of the long range plan that people need to be trained and educated, etcetera, assumes both of the things that we have had no confirmation that either is likely to happen.

RAMSEY: I'll lay it on your desk up there before [inaudible] open this session up, a story out of the Delta Democrat Times on April fifth. A story about the Mississippi Research and Development Center, plans that are currently being put underway to establish training centers, provide job opportunities, attract industry...and attract industry for the people in that section. And Greenville is right in the center of the area that we're talking about where the major problem is in the Delta.

JAVITS: Well, I have just had a very long talk with Dr. Kenneth Wagner and I'm thoroughly apprised of this and I like it and it's great, but just like you say, it's down the road. It's not the stuff upon which people can live tomorrow. Now, do you feel that federal programs, at the very least, must make provisions, effective provisions, for the transition period which from what all [week] with everything we hear is relatively unprovided for. Do you feel that federal programs must make provisions for that transition period whether it's surplus foods or other forms of support or some maintenance while people are getting educated and training that this is the real problem here?

RAMSEY: I don't see any other way of doing it, Senator. It's going to have to be financed by federal funds. Mississippi simply doesn't have the resources as I have already pointed out.

JAVITS: Well, what you're really telling us that if we really...and we must know this, very frankly...that if we really want to carry on a meaningful program here, the federal government has to carry these people during the transitional period until your plans and the R and D plans and the STAR plans can take hold. Otherwise, they must leave the state. There's nothing else they can do.

RAMSEY: Right.

JAVITS: Is that right?

RAMSEY: That's it.

JAVITS: Thank you, [inaudible]

CLARK: Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: I suppose there are, perhaps, three or four basic questions, Ramsey. One, whether there is a need of a program in the state of Mississippi, and I think it's quite clear from your testimony and from the testimony of others that there is a desperate need for a poverty program and other programs that help those who are deprived here in the state of Mississippi. Secondly, whether

the programs that have been in existence up until the present time have been as effective as they might have been. And, third, what you would do, as far as the future is concerned, what you would emphasize to take advantage of the lessons that we've learned and the mistakes that have been made and, also, the progress that has been made over the period of the last several years in connection with the poverty program...in connection with these other programs. Could you just comment, particularly, on the latter two points, because I think you made the point, really, that there is a desperate need and that there are people who are starving and that there are those who are untrained and who might been driven out of the state because of lack of facilities? Could you describe what you think we've learned over the period of the last several years, and what should be done over the period of the next several years, what we should emphasize and what lessons we've learned and what are the good points and what you think [inaudible]

RAMSEY: Well, Senator, I...

KENNEDY: [inaudible] in your statement, but I'd like to hear you talk about it.

RAMSEY: Yes. As I pointed out in my statement as I view it, we have two basic problems. One is adult illiteracy, and if we're going to prevent the [ills] of, you know, poverty in the future, we must concentrate at the Head Start level with the children. Now, what...the major problem right now is with the adult, adult illiteracy. Now, I don't see too much wrong with the [inaudible] as it exists. I think what has to be done here is to clean up some of the existing programs and improve those that we have. STAR, itself, is an experimental program, and, as Mr. Ezell pointed out to you this morning, it wasn't designed primarily to train people or educate people for jobs because of the head of the household provision. But, after we got into it, we found out that we should strengthen the program, further expand it. We began with a cycle of 13 weeks, and we found out, after the first cycle, that this wasn't sufficient, so we came back and doubled the period of time to 26 weeks with the idea in mind of bringing these people up to around a ninth or tenth grade education where, thereby, they could then move into MDTA. I think our experiences with STAR will benefit people all over the United States. I think the data and the know-how that we've picked up with this one program is going to be one of the most important things that come out of it. Now, one of the weaknesses or one of the gaps that we have here is the fact that STAR is limited to the sixth grade. Most of the MDTA programs require about an eighth or ninth grade...at least an eighth or ninth grade education. So, we have a gap in here between the sixth and the eighth or ninth grade. Something has to be done about this. Now, we have attempted to expand...as a matter of fact have made application for additional funds to put STAR training centers all over the state of Mississippi. But the money wasn't there, and the program wasn't approved. But this is the type

thing that's going to have to be done in Mississippi if we're going to [inaudible] the problem as I view it.

KENNEDY: What about the question of community participation...participation by those who are the subjects of these programs?

RAMSEY: Yes, well, I think there's been enough testimony here already today.

KENNEDY: I wonder as [inaudible]

RAMSEY: Right, Senator, that, in some areas of the state, we're getting good participation in some by Whites...

KENNEDY: Do you think that's necessary, though? Participation by the people who are the subjects of the programs?

RAMSEY: Well, I think it would be well and good if we had it, but even though we don't get it, I think the program has to go on. Yes, sir. But I think, as time goes on, that we will have more and more Whites participating because the record speaks for itself. The past two years has proved this.

KENNEDY: Now, what about the peo...the...that's the Whites...and what about the individuals themselves who are in poverty. Do you think they have to participate in developing the program?

RAMSEY: Absolutely. I think that...that they...they, very definitely, should participate in the program and should have a say in how these programs are put together. By all means, they should participate.

KENNEDY: That makes the program more effective in your judgment?

RAMSEY: Absolutely. We...in the STAR program, this is one of the problems in the beginning was the fact that we didn't have representation of the poor. And the question is how do you go about selecting the poor. So, after we got the program moving, we asked each center to select a person to represent them on the board. They have to be poor to qualify to go into the program.

KENNEDY: Thank you, very much. You've been very...

CLARK: Senator Murphy.

MURPHY: I keep coming back to this horrible disclosure we had this morning, the people that have working down here for three dollars a day. Have you reported that to the Labor...Department of Labor in Washington?

RAMSEY: Well, Senator, the statement was made, though, that that was what was

being done prior to the amendments to the wage an hour law.

MURPHY: What are they getting now? That same job.

RAMSEY: Well, this is...actually it depends, you know, this piece of legislation. The next time you write one, I wish you'd do it in a more simple fashion. This is the most complicated thing that I've ever seen. It depends, really, on the number of hours those people worked the year before as to whether or not they qualify as I understand it. And we have no way of knowing right now what is actually going on.

MURPHY: Did you...do you find that the minimum wage caused a wider condition of unemployment as we've been told, or was that something that was about to come on anyhow?

RAMSEY: Well, as I pointed out earlier, Senator, this has been going on...this transition...this farm mechanization has been going on for a number of years. This is what's brought this problem on. The minimum wage, in my opinion, is going to just finish the job of mechanization, and I gather that there's about 90 per cent of the plantations already mechanized. So, it will mean that the other 10 per cent will now probably mechanize.

MURPHY: Is the AFL-CIO in favor of mechanization or in favor of retaining the jobs?

RAMSEY: We haven't...we haven't gotten around to taking a position on that.

MURPHY: Don't you think that's your responsibility as a labor leader? That was mine when I was a labor leader.

RAMSEY: The labor movement, of course, hasn't fought automation as a whole, and that's what this gets down to. We would like to share in the fruits, you know, of the profits made.

MURPHY: You better have some [head tax], too.

RAMSEY: What, sir?

MURPHY: You better have some [head tax] to go with it.

RAMSEY: Right. Now, this is a problem that we have, and it's largely in the Delta counties. And I might mention this to you. That several counties in northeast Mississippi...you might not be aware of this...were just recently added to the Appalachia Act.

MURPHY: I'm aware of that.

- RAMSEY: Are you aware of that? And it so happens that northeast Mississippi is not in near as bad a condition as northwestern Mississippi.
- MURPHY: You want northwest to get into the Appalachian Act?
- RAMSEY: It would be well and good if we could bring it into the Delta counties, yes. It might help some.
- CLARK: Have you got enough hills up there to qualify?
- RAMSEY: Sir?
- CLARK: Have you got enough hills up there to qualify?
- RAMSEY: That's a problem. That's a problem that...they've got some pretty high levees. That might bring them in there.
- MURPHY: I didn't know you had to have a hill. Now, you spoke of the rules...we've heard testimony about the head of the household. Now, this fellow can't get a job here, so he has to go away, and his family's in awful shape. Now, if he's still head of the household, they can't get any relief for the children. Would you suggest that, maybe, those regulations should be changed in order to accommodate the actual condition that exists?
- RAMSEY: By all means. By all means.
- MURPHY: Now, I got another [inaudible] that you mentioned in the training of the adult education. I believe you said it started at what...six years?
- RAMSEY: I said that STAR was prohibited by its contract from enrolling anyone...
- MURPHY: [inaudible]
- RAMSEY: They're tested, see. Now, you've heard several people get up here and say that. "I have a 10th grade education. At least, I went to the 10th grade". They were enrolled in STAR. Well, the test that was given to those people indicated that they had less than a sixth grade education, therefore, they were enrolled.
- MURPHY: In other words, that's another restriction that might be [loosened] [inaudible] to be more practical.
- RAMSEY: Right. It would be ideal if STAR, or programs similar to STAR, could be expanded, whereby, these people would be brought up to about a tenth grade education. Yes, sir.

- MURPHY: Has there...has there been any attempt to introduce some of the Negro workers in training programs, for instance, in the building trade?
- RAMSEY: Yes, we have, strangely enough, in Mississippi, we have quite a few Negroes in the building trade. And I might tell you this, that about a third of our membership in Mississippi in the AFL-CIO is Negro, possibly 30 per cent. And we do have quite a few Negroes in building trades unions. Now, right here in the city of Jackson, the brick layers and the [lathers] and unions of this kind are predominately Negroes.
- MURPHY: I have one other question. I'm glad to hear that [inaudible] That isn't, I'm sorry to say, isn't true every place in the country. Nobody's mentioned dropouts.
- RAMSEY: I mentioned it...I mentioned it in my statement that we had 23,000 dropouts last year. This is compounding the problem.
- MURPHY: I'm talking, now, about the...in the STAR program. Do the people generally who enter the STAR program stay with it?
- RAMSEY: Very good. The attendance and the participation or the stickability is very good, sir.
- MURPHY: Generally, you would say that they all...they all get a good benefit from the STAR program?
- RAMSEY: Well, to my knowledge...to my knowledge, they do. I've had...well, we've got several of them on the board, and they have expressed themselves...how much they appreciated the education, the opportunities received.
- MURPHY: Thank you very much. I have no more questions.
- CLARK: Thank you very much, Mr. Ramsey. We appreciate your very forthright and helpful testimony. Our next witness is Mr. O. H. Simmons of Jackson.
- [WALES]: We'll continue with the hearings from the Olympic Room in the Heidelberg Hotel after station identification.
- CLARK: We're very happy to have you here. Do you have a prepared statement?
- SIMMONS: No, sir, I do not have, Senator.
- CLARK: Then will you please proceed in your own way?

SIMMONS: Thank you, sir. Thank you, Senator Clark. I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before this group, and I would like to just make my comments as briefly as possible to give you some idea of our involvement in the various programs under the so-called poverty program and to dwell some on the Manpower Development and Training Act which we feel has benefited a great number of our people immensely. I suppose that our organization is involved in more of the programs than any other single organization in the state. And, incidentally, we are a state organization. We are involved with the vocational education department in the Manpower Development and Training Act and the administration of that act. We're involved in Neighborhood Youth Corp, in the recruitment for Job Corp and working with the work experience enrollees in counseling and guidance. We have a cooperative agreement with STAR...

[WALES]: Now, beginning his testimony is Mr. O. H. Simmons of Jackson, Mississippi, who is with the Mississippi State Employment Security Commission. Mr. Simmons.

SIMMONS: ...programs. We work with the Economic Development Administration and with a large group of farm organizations. One thing that I would like to reiterate that some of the other witnesses have said here today is that this problem of displacement of farm workers is not something that's come on overnight. This has been going on for a rather long period of time, and we have realized that this has been a serious problem over the years, and, for the past 10 or 15 years, we have attempted to fill in some of the gaps of employment with these people by sending agricultural workers to employment opportunities in agriculture in other states. Last year, we sent approximately 7,000 people into 19 different states on jobs that were available, and they averaged over \$1.50 a hour.

CLARK: Now, are these largely what we call migratory workers [inaudible] harvest the crops?

SIMMONS: Not in the terms that they follow the migrant [stream], Senator Clark. They are home-based in Mississippi and they come back home from one job to the other.

CLARK: [These are], however, largely agricultural occupations?

SIMMONS: Yes, sir. They're all agricultural occupations. Now, to touch on the Manpower Development and Training Act program that we feel has benefited the state tremendously, but, of course, as everyone else has testified, it's just a drop in the bucket for what is needed actually. Through January 30th of this year, we had completed training...had 3,180 people had been enrolled in this program. 77.6 per cent completed the training out of

this 3,180. And we had placed in training-related jobs 71.9 per cent of that group.

CLARK: What percentage of those trainees were Negroes and what percentage were Whites?

SIMMONS: Senator, we...we don't have...we don't maintain records on the race, but, as general knowledge, approximately 50 per cent were Negroes. Approximately 50 per cent were Negroes.

CLARK: Can you give us a catalog, not in minute detail, of the type of jobs for which these people were trained?

SIMMONS: Yes, sir. They have been trained in various health occupations, such as licensed practical nurse and nurse's aids. We have some training going on now in some of the other health occupations, such as technicians and things of this nature.

CLARK: Male as well as female?

SIMMONS: Yes, sir. However, we do have a very small percentage of female, because there's just not many job opportunities for females in the state, and, of course, under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the law itself says that there must be a reasonable expectation of employment. And this has curtailed our ability to put too many females into training programs, because there was just no job opportunities that we could see at the end for them.

CLARK: Now, what else besides health occupations?

SIMMONS: Well, in production machine operation, lathes, drill presses, things of this nature. Automobile mechanics, auto body repairmen, draftsmen, electronics technicians. These are some of the...I have a list of the various training programs if you would like for me to read that. It's quite lengthy.

CLARK: No, I'd like to have you leave that with us, though, so we can incorporate it into the record. And I'd like to a...I'd like you to answer a criticism which I've heard from some sources...and I have no idea whether it's right or not...that your service largely just trains the Negroes for menial jobs and all the other high level jobs go to Whites. In other words, it's alleged that your service is discriminatory.

SIMMONS: Well, sir, of course, we would not agree with that statement. We...we do not

have a program in Mississippi that has not been integrated. In fact, this is in the law or in the regulations from the Department of Labor. And it has been true that in some of the, what we would call, higher skilled occupations, such as draftsmen, electronics technicians, and so forth, it requires a higher education level to enter that we have had problems locating, in certain instances, Negroes who had the educational requirements. But we have made a serious effort to recruit these applicants and have been able to recruit some for every course.

CLARK: Have you had any trouble with the Department of Labor with respect to alleged racial discrimination in your service?

SIMMONS: We've been investigated several times. Yes, sir. And I do not know what the findings were at this time. At the present time, we have approximately 2,500 people enrolled in 20 different locations in Mississippi under the MDTA program, and the only problem we have is lack of funds for this. And, incidentally, I would like to get into the record here that we have not had any problem in any community in integrating these programs.

CLARK: I'll tell you what disturbs me, and, perhaps, you would be able to speak briefly about that. We had a good deal of testimony up in Washington and some since we've come here, about the critical problem in the Delta where, as the result of the mechanization of agriculture and the attitude of the plantation owners, which I don't particularly criticize, thousands and thousands of agricultural workers have been disemployed and have been unable to find jobs anywhere else largely because of their inadequate education and lack of any employable skills. What is your organization doing to remedy that situation which we understand results in an enormous number of people [in the Delta] presently being unemployed and many of them hungry?

SIMMONS: Yes, I am sure that there is a great deal of unemployment the extent I've heard the figures from 200,000 down to 60,000 so I really don't know. We are in the process now of making a survey. I've just about completed it, our organization, and we hope to have this information very shortly. I'm to attend a meeting in Atlanta tomorrow to discuss this very problem as to what can be done, and we have several recommendations that we will make over there at this time.

CLARK: Why don't you make them to us right now?

SIMMONS: Well, concerning the expansion of the Neighborhood Youth Corp to take care of some of the kids who are dropping out of school, some [nelson sure] programs, some expansion of work experience, some real concentration on trying to locate some industry into the Delta...

CLARK: Primarily, though, it's an expansion of the poverty program.

SIMMONS: Yes, sir.

CLARK: And in order to...in order to do that adequately don't you need more funds?

SIMMONS: We have to have more funds, Senator. We just do not have enough to...to take care of the situation. And an expansion, also, of the Manpower Development and Training Act. As an example of that, last year we were required by the Department of Labor and by HEW, since this is a joint program, to submit a plan for Manpower Development and Training for fiscal year '68, which we're in now. We showed a need...

CLARK: We're not quite in it yet.

SIMMONS: Well, I mean, almost. '67, I meant. We're...we showed a need to train approximately...and we had job opportunities in sight, possibilities of jobs for these people if they could be trained, for about 10,000...10 to 12,000 people at an estimated cost of 17 billion dollars. We received funds...the original apportionment was for a little less than two million dollars to train a little less than 1,000 people. Now, we're going to do better than that this year, because we...we did were able to get some additional funds. But we're going to be able to train around 2,500 people between...at a cost of somewhere around four million dollars under this program. But this just points out the tremendous need in the state and the lack of funds under this particular program to meet those needs.

CLARK: Now, am I cutting you off, or have you said what you want to say?

SIMMONS: That's fine.

CLARK: Senator Javits.

SIMMONS: One thing that I would like to bring in that I don't think any other witness has testified to. Under Title III of the Economic Opportunity Act, which is administered in Mississippi by the Farmers' Home Administration, they have done a wonderful job, I think, with the amount of funds that they've had. They have served 2,658 individual farmers and have made 113 cooperative loans. Now, these are co-ops that these people have formed to help themselves, and I think this is part of the solution to some of our problems. If we could get more of this type thing into the state where these people would be in a position to help themselves and do something for themselves.

CLARK: Well, the trouble is they don't have any capital to start a credit union...

- SIMMONS: No, sir, but this...
- CLARK: You really [pretty early] have to get the SBA to back into the act, and the SBA has backed out now to my great chagrin and disappointment. If you're going to give any credit to these people for the time being [inaudible]
- SIMMONS: Yes, sir. Under Title III...
- CLARK: [inaudible] the SBA, in my opinion.
- SIMMONS: Under Title III there are funds available for to help these cooperatives, and they've made 113 grants besides the individual, besides the two thousand six hundred and something loans to individual farmers. And this is going to keep some of these people on the farm where we need them to help grow some of this food and fiber that we going to have to have.
- CLARK: Thank you. Senator Javits.
- JAVITS: Well, Mr. Simmons, we're naturally impressed with the very small size of these programs. To what effect...to what extent are they influenced by the low level of education which the applicants have, and, therefore, shouldn't the greater priority be given to the STAR program to try to bring them up to the point where even business might be interested in training people?
- SIMMONS: Senator, there's...
- [Break in tape]
- SIMMONS: ...for more than basic education functions, however, we have not had any problem in recruiting people who have been fairly successful, I think, as the record would show, in entering skill training. We have a large number of people who...who are capable now of taking skill training but for which no opportunities are available. But, then, we do have many more, probably, who need a great deal of basic education.
- JAVITS: Well, now, to what extent have you been able to place the people...
- SIMMONS: In the...in the two thou....3,180...3,180 that we...that had completed training through January 30th, we had placed 71.9 per cent of them.
- JAVITS: Well, now, in placing those, is there any emphasis upon placing them in non-segregated situations or do you just take employers as you find them?
- SIMMONS: Well, we take jobs as we find them, but the majority of the larger establishments now are integrated.

- JAVITS: So you feel that you are placing them in integrated situations?
- SIMMONS: Yes, sir.
- JAVITS: What do you consider to be the requirement for the STAR program? How many people do you feel could actually be [inaudible] with under the STAR program?
- SIMMONS: Well, as I say, we have a very close working agreement with STAR, and one of the frustrations that they have had as well as we is that we have not had sufficient skill training to enter these people into after they finish basic education. I would like to get in a plug here that the sixth grade level is just not far enough and three months is just not long enough for STAR to bring these people up, in a number of instances, even to the sixth grade level. And I would like to see the length of time of STAR, say to nine months or a year, and get them up as far as they could, because, as Mr. Ramsey indicated in his testimony, a great number of these...a great number of employers and a great number of occupations require eighth or ninth grade level to...
- JAVITS: I'd like to get some idea of what is the magnitude. How many more people or how many more slots do you need in STAR and how many more slots do you need in MDTA to really try to get abreast of this problem?
- SIMMONS: Well, I would say in MDTA, and let me hit that first, that 10 to 12,000 slots a year would be about all that we could absorb...that the labor market could absorb under the present conditions, and this is one of the considerations in this training program. Now, I think anytime you give basic education, even if it's to a housewife, she's going to be a better mother and housewife the more education she has. So this I...
- JAVITS: And, so, you really have to increase the program fivefold.
- SIMMONS: Oh, yes, sir. I'd say so.
- JAVITS: Now, my last question is this. Can you give us a breakdown of the percentage of employees that you placed through MDTA by occupational groups, and whether Negro or White, under the headings of administrative, professional, clerical, janitorial?
- SIMMONS: No, sir, I do not have that, and it would be impossible to get it, because our records are not maintained on a racial basis. I could give you the...the placement records by those categories, but the...but the race breakdown, we do not have.

- JAVITS: Well, can you tell us whether or not the Negroes are likely to be placed in the very much lower grade of jobs, that is, essentially, janitorial?
- SIMMONS: No, sir. No, sir. Not under our training program, because we don't train for that type [inaudible].
- JAVITS: Well, now, what is the lowest caliber job you do train for?
- SIMMONS: I suppose nurses' aid for females, and, possibly, one of the lowest educational requirements is woodworking machine operator for males.
- JAVITS: Now, when you say 10 to 12,000 slots are needed, would you there include more menial occupations or are you still on the nurses' aid and woodworking machinery level?
- SIMMONS: No, sir. We would be above...at that level or above.
- JAVITS: Well, which level or above? You mean the nurses' aid and woodworking machine?
- SIMMONS: Yes, sir. Those would be the lowest levels.
- JAVITS: Now, how many would you estimate need to be educated per year to the point where they could undertake this type of training? You say 10 or 12,000 trained, how many [back] of that that would have to be brought to some kind of educational level so they could take this kind of training?
- SIMMONS: Oh, I would say half of them probably. And this is just off the top of my head. I really don't know.
- JAVITS: Well, you don't know the number that would be needed before you got to the 10 or 12,000 you say?
- SIMMONS: That would need basic education. No, sir. No, sir, I do not. I know that a large number of our people do need more basic education.
- JAVITS: Well, now, isn't it true, Mr. Simmons, that, due to the fact that you don't keep records by racial designation, that you don't know now whether the Negroes are likely to be placed in the less...less rewarding line or not? You really just don't know.
- SIMMONS: Well, yes, sir, we know from observation and from knowing the communities and so forth. Yes, sir, we know, but I can't give you precise figures on it.

JAVITS: You know, but you can't back it up with figures.

SIMMONS: Well, no, sir. The Department of Labor won't let us keep records on race.

JAVITS: Now, isn't it true that the overwhelming bulk of the illiteracy and lack of education is in the Negro group?

SIMMONS: I would say that that is a fair statement, although we have a lot of Whites.

JAVITS: Well, I understand you have a lot in number, but we've heard the proportions, and you don't challenge those proportions?

SIMMONS: No.

JAVITS: So, under the system as it works today, there's still mighty few Negroes able to break through the poverty [crutch]. Isn't that true?

SIMMONS: Because...because of lack of funds is the big problem.

JAVITS: And lack of...and lack of funds going way back to the educational problem?

SIMMONS: Yes, sir. This would be true, certainly.

JAVITS: Thank you.

CLARK: Senator Kennedy.

KENNEDY: Mr. Ezell spoke this morning about the fact that they had referred some 6,047 people to your organization for employment and job training. Could you tell us what happened to them?

SIMMONS: Again, not precisely, Senator Kennedy. I do know that last year, and I believe I'm right, that we had about 325 of those placed in MDTA training situations, and how many we placed, I do not know. I could get those...that information for you, I think. But...

KENNEDY: You don't know how many of them graduated from the course or finished the course?

SIMMONS: No, sir. No, sir.

KENNEDY: That's a little discouraging, isn't it, because if there are...if STAR, that we've heard a great deal about, is intended to accomplish the result of making it possible for these people to find employment and they send

6,000, and he was quite pleased with that, if they send 6,047 to you and 325, only 325...which is what, five per cent, could even enter the course, that's a very discouraging figure.

SIMMONS: It's extremely discouraging, and we are attempting, as Mr. Ramsey brought out in his testimony with this coordinating committee, to try to do something about this. But I think it's important to remember that STAR started out as a basic education program without... without too much pressure for jobs at the end.

KENNEDY: Yes.

SIMMONS: And I think this is important to keep this in mind, and, at that time, there was no coordination to amount to anything between the two, MDTA training Manpower Development and STAR.

KENNEDY: Whatever the reason was that it started out, and I suppose the...all of the public officials have [inaudible] some responsibility, I would think that individuals who started that program made that effort would feel their lives were going to be improved somewhat. [inaudible]

SIMMONS: Well, certainly, and I think they have been improved. Maybe not to the point of being employable, yet, that they need some additional training.

KENNEDY: Now, you're talking about...your pretty far down to say your life is improved, but not so much as that you can get a job. That's rather discouraging to somebody. Well, we're really going to improve your life, but, at the end of the program, you're going to work six months, and five per cent of you might get into a program where you might get a job at the end.

SIMMONS: Right. It's real discouraging. It's discouraging to us.

KENNEDY: Well, I would think it might be discouraging to us, even a little more discouraging to them [inaudible] participate. Now, there'll be...let me ask you this. You say that 3,180 have finished your course...is that correct? 3,180?

SIMMONS: Yes, sir.

KENNEDY: How many in the state of Mississippi are eligible to take the course?

SIMMONS: To take the training?

KENNEDY: If you had unlimited sums of money and you had unlimited number of

people who could train and work with these people, how many people could you enroll?

SIMMONS: Well, we'd have to make one other assumption. That the law itself did not say that there must be a job at the end. Do you want to make that assumption?

KENNEDY: Well, let's do it without the assumption at the beginning. Let's take it how many people actually need...need this program in the state of Mississippi.

SIMMONS: Oh, that need it? I would say up in the thousands. I wouldn't know...

KENNEDY: I'm sure of that, but, I mean, how many thousands are we talking about?

SIMMONS: Oh, I'd say 30 to 35,000 would be a conservative estimate.

KENNEDY: Well, do you have any idea...does anybody here in the state have any idea how many people...what the need for the program is here in the state of Mississippi?

SIMMONS: Insofar as job opportunities are concerned, yes, sir, we do.

KENNEDY: Yeah, but do you have any study to determine how many people need this kind of a program?

SIMMONS: Well, we have unemployment...we have unemployment estimates, which I don't put a whole lot of faith in, but we still have them. But, as someone touched on a little while ago, this does not take into consideration any measure of underemployment which we have a great deal of in Mississippi.

KENNEDY: I agree. That's why I was wondering [if you could see] the Manpower Development and Training Act to deal, not only with the unemployed, but the underemployed.

SIMMONS: The underemployed as well.

KENNEDY: And maybe you can't give me the answer now, but I would like to have it as close as possible for the record later on, of how many people here in the state of Mississippi you would...would be...would...what kind of a program would be useful to...

JAVITS: Would the Senator yield for a question from me so that we could clarify one thing? You gave me figure of 10 to 12,000. What does that mean in the [inaudible]

SIMMONS: This was the ones that I thought could be absorbed into the labor market per

year.

JAVITS: Who actually could get a job?

SIMMONS: Yes, sir, and especially if they were...if they were properly trained.

JAVITS: And the 30 to 35,000 represents those who could take the training even though they might not get a job? Is that correct?

SIMMONS: Well, that...that...that we could recruit for training, yes.

JAVITS: Thank you very much.

KENNEDY: The average yearly income in the state of Mississippi is 1,600 dollars a year which is well under the poverty level in the United States. It seems to me that the program must be...must be more than 35,000 people, because all the Negroes and all the Whites here in the state of Mississippi are...

SIMMONS: Well, as I said, that's [inaudible] off the top of my head, and I don't really know.

KENNEDY: Well, doesn't it seem reasonable that there must be hundreds of thousands, not 30,000?

SIMMONS: Yes, that would sound reasonable to me. I'll take your estimate.

KENNEDY: No, no. I'm trying to find out from you.

SIMMONS: I don't know.

KENNEDY: But I think that's of some significance, because I think that we have to understand what the problem is [in what we're trying to do]

SIMMONS: It's great. It's great. It's greater than...

KENNEDY: I understand it's great. I just wanted to see how great it was. Well, let me go on. If we say that there...if we placed 2,000...we placed 2,000 last year or if we placed 2,000 since this program began as I understand, about 2,200 we've placed. Do you know what the average income of those 2,200 that have been placed?

SIMMONS: No, sir, but I can give you a figure on what their increase in earnings was from the last job they had. It was 58.6 per cent increase in earnings.

KENNEDY: And do you know how many of that approximately 2,200, how many of those are Negroes?

SIMMONS: About 50 per cent.

KENNEDY: About 50 per cent?

SIMMONS: Just slightly less than 50 per cent, yes, sir.

KENNEDY: Slightly less than 50 per cent were Negroes?

SIMMONS: Yes, sir.

KENNEDY: Have you got the exact figure?

SIMMONS: No, sir, not in percentages. Let's see, I...

KENNEDY: Do you have it in numbers?

SIMMONS: Out of 3,171, there were 1,622 Whites and 1,144 Negro.

KENNEDY: How many is that Negro?

SIMMONS: 1,144.

KENNEDY: And does that... 1,144 are Negroes?

SIMMONS: Right.

KENNEDY: And how many Whites?

SIMMONS: 1,622.

KENNEDY: Well, that's about 35 per cent.

SIMMONS: Well, my arithmetic's bad in my head.

KENNEDY: Now, out of those, the 1,144 Negroes and the 1,622 White, how many of those... how many of the Negroes were placed in jobs?

SIMMONS: Well, I don't have the figure broken down, since I've said we do not maintain those, but 71.9 per cent of all trainees were placed.

KENNEDY: I don't see... when you say you don't break it down, how did you know there were 1,144 Negroes?

SIMMONS: Well, by... by. Let me say this. We're... we're... this we... this we gathered

for a long time by classes when they started. Just the...went out a made a head count as to the number of Negroes enrolled and then, after that, we had no records of the race. These were sent in to the federal government and, then, they dropped this provision that we had to send in to the Department of Labor.

KENNEDY: Could I make a suggestion? I don't see, if I may do so, I don't see how you could have done it at the beginning of the program, because if...and you say there were 3,000...3,000 what?

SIMMONS: 3,180.

KENNEDY: Who graduated. And then you broke it down 1,144 Negroes and 1,622 Whites.

SIMMONS: Because...because we had our...

KENNEDY: That must have been...you must have taken the figure then at the time they graduated, not at time of the beginning of the enrollment in the program.

SIMMONS: We took, well, I...I...we took it at the time...we took it at the time of the enrollment, really. This figure is the time of the enrollment, and not the time of graduation, I guess. I'd love to be able to tell you. But I would assume, and, again, this is...

KENNEDY: Could I just...could I say...and if I may say so, and, again, I'm not...don't want to get you off on the wrong [inaudible], but, if this is the way the figure breaks down, this is the group that graduated from the program.

SIMMONS: Right.

KENNEDY: Well, then, what happened...therefore, it wasn't just the people enrolled in the program. You took it according to their race at the time they graduated from the program.

SIMMONS: Right. Well, on our follow-up reports, which we get [inaudible]

KENNEDY: Well, then, I asked you the second question. What happened to them, the 1,144 Negroes, how many of those were placed?

SIMMONS: Well, I would gather approximately the same number, 70 to 75...70 to 71 per cent, I'd say. We...

KENNEDY: Let me...I don't want to be disrespectful, but you were wrong, you know, about the figure...about how many were involved in the program.

SIMMONS: I've been wrong a lot of times, Senator.

KENNEDY: I know you have.

SIMMONS: And I'll be wrong a lot more, I'm sure, but the...but let me explain. On our follow-up reports which are made three, six and twelve months from the date of graduation, there is no race information on this at all, and this is where we get our placement information. I can make a headcount of those that are in the course...at the end of the course, we can make a headcount. But, then, when we send out these mail follow-up reports, we do not have information on them.

KENNEDY: No, I understand that. But, if you know that 3,100 graduated and you know 1,144 of those are Negroes and 1,622 are White, and then you know how many of those received jobs, you know how many Negroes received jobs and how many Whites received jobs.

SIMMONS: Well, we know that...

KENNEDY: All you have to do is count them.

SIMMONS: 71.9.

KENNEDY: I know, but you know that 70.9 of the 3,180, but you, also, know how many of those are Negroes and how many are Whites

SIMMONS: Yes, but a lot of these folks got jobs on their own. We didn't...

KENNEDY: Yes, but 70.9 per cent, you know which ones got...

SIMMONS: 71.9. Your figures are wrong.

KENNEDY: 71.9. I'm sorry, yes. I was wrong. In the 71.9 per cent, you know which ones of those are Negroes and which ones are Whites. That's alright. I won't pursue it...

SIMMONS: Thank you.

KENNEDY: That's alright. Now, of...can you tell me what the salary of those individuals are that you trained.

SIMMONS: Well, it varies, but they increased their earnings by 58.6 per cent.

KENNEDY: And do you know what their salaries are at the present time? What their average salary is?

SIMMONS: No, sir.

KENNEDY: Can you give us that figure? Can you get that figure?

SIMMONS: I will try. I don't know that I can, but I'll try.

KENNEDY: If you know that they increased their salary by 51 per cent, you must have the figure.

SIMMONS: We do have some figures of some sort, but I don't know exactly what they are, and I don't want to get trapped again into making some foolish statement like I just did and...

SIMMONS: I'm not trying to be evasive, Senator Kennedy. I just don't know.

KENNEDY: I just say, Mr. Chairman, I think that the effort that has to be made at that level is so significant and so important for the state, and, as I say, to have some understanding of what the problem is would be of great help to us. I mean, how much can you say that you need more money. How much more money is needed? How many more people could be trained? And to give us some judgment as to whether it's really hitting the hard core of unemployment here in the state, and, also, when you talk about the fact that you placed 2,000 people...are we really making any progress in the state of Mississippi or are there more people unemployed... underemployed and unemployed in the state now than there were six months ago or nine months ago.

SIMMONS: Well, no, sir. I think we're making some progress.

KENNEDY: Now, when you talk about...I don't know how many people come in the category of underemployed and unemployed in the state each year, and whether, in fact, we are making progress...

SIMMONS: No, sir. Well, that varies, of course, from week to week or day to day almost, the number of unemployed. Underemployed would stay steadier I would think.

CLARK: Mr. Simmons, it does seem to me that you come in here as a state official, a member of the Mississippi State Employment Security Commission. We told you several weeks ago we'd like to have you come here, and you don't have any prepared statement. Your commission should be the source of the most meaningful statistics [inaudible]

SIMMONS: I think we have...

CLARK: I'm going to urge you to go back to your commission to your chairman and

ask permission to prepare for us a very...a very thoughtful memorandum with the best figures you can give us with respect to these matters where you've had to say, "I don't know." And see if we can't get something in our record which will give us a little something more meaningful to [inaudible]

SIMMONS: I'll be happy to, Senator Clark. Shall I direct that to your attention?

CLARK: Thank you very much. I wish you would. Yes, the Senate office building.

SIMMONS: Thank you, sir.

KENNEDY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

CLARK: Senator Murphy.

MURPHY: In adding up these figures that have been discussed, I'm sure everybody got a little bit confused as I did. And I find that between the 3-1-8-0 figure, the people that got employment, and the 2-7-6-6 figure, there are 414. Is that the group that you meant got employment on their own?

SIMMONS: I'm not sure that I understand the question, Senator Murphy.

MURPHY: Well, let me go slow.

SIMMONS: Thank you.

MURPHY: You say that there were 3,180 people of whom 71 per cent...71.9 per cent were employed.

SIMMONS: Yes, sir.

MURPHY: And you say that...

END OF RECORDING

INDEX

Adult literacy programs – 19, 20, 23, 30, 37, 42, 52, 64
 AFL-CIO – 41, 42, 43, 54, 56
 Bolivar County - 1
 Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) – 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 30, 47, 48
 Commodities, surplus food – 3, 19, 20, 21, 51,
 Department of Labor – 41, 43, 44, 54, 59, 60, 64, 69
 Federal government – 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 41, 44, 45, 51, 52, 69
 Food stamps – 3, 9, 19, 20, 29
 Head Start – 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 16, 19, 22, 30, 32, 46, 47, 52
 Hunger – 3, 19, 20, 52, 59
 Issaquena County – 7, 8, 9, 19, 21
 Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) – 34, 46, 47, 52, 59, 62, 63, 65
 MAP – 1, 5, 12, 13, 16
 Minimum wage – 3, 32, 48, 54
 Mississippi Delta – 1, 9, 21, 22, 23, 30, 32, 50, 51, 55, 59, 60
 Nelson Project – 3, 60
 Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) – 2, 4, 6, 22, 31, 44, 46, 47
 Planned Parenthood - 26
 Plantations – 3, 8, 9, 18, 20, 22, 32, 43, 54, 59
 Poverty program – 1, 2, 6, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 47, 52, 57, 60
 Segregated facilities – 7, 21, 42
 STAR program – 10, 23, 28, 30-31, 34-36, 38-41, 44-46, 50, 52-54, 56-57, 61-62, 65
 Stennis, John C. – 30, 31, 47, 48,
 Sunflower County – 2, 3, 23,
 Wayne County – 1, 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 24, 25,
 Welfare – 3, 14, 16, 20, 21, 26,